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VIRGIL

AENEID, BOOKS IV-VI

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

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PREFACE.

THE text of this edition (as of the former edition published by the Clarendon Press in 1882) is based upon that of Ribbeck with certain modifications, particularly in matters of orthography. No attempt is made to reproduce the variety of spelling found in the best MSS.—e. g. *inpius*, *impius*, *navis* (n. plur.) *naves*, *lacruma lacrima*, *volnus vulnus*, *vortex vertex*, *linquont linquunt lincunt*—a variety which it is hard to believe that Virgil himself would have sanctioned. Where MSS. and inscriptions fluctuate between different forms (e. g. *-es*, *-is*, *-eis*, in nom. plur. of *i-* stems), it seems best for practical purposes to adhere to the normal spelling of the language in its fixed literary form: avoiding on the one hand the 'conventional' spelling of the Renaissance Scholars, with barbarisms such as *coelum*, *coena*, *lacryma*, *sylvà* due to the false notion that Latin was derived from Greek; nor claiming, on the other hand, either to reproduce the text exactly as Virgil wrote it or to decide on *a priori* grounds what he ought to have written.

The Commentary has been revised throughout by both Editors, and to a considerable extent re-written, with the object of making it more generally useful to students at the Universities and in the higher forms of schools. The Introduction has been abridged by Mr. Papillon from that of the former edition: most of the discussion upon the history of the

text and upon Latin orthography being omitted as being outside the scope of such an edition as this.

In the preparation of the first edition the books principally used were Professor Conington's standard commentary, completed by Professor Nettleship; the editions of Forbiger, Gossrau, and Kennedy; Professor Nettleship's 'Suggestions Introductory to a Study of the Aeneid,' and Professor Sellar's volume 'On the Roman Poets of the Augustan Age.' In revising the notes the Editors have had the advantage of consulting Mr. Sidgwick's school edition, from which they have derived many valuable suggestions. The original Editor desires also to repeat his special obligation to the Venerable Edwin Palmer, D.D., Archdeacon of Oxford and Canon of Christ Church, formerly Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College; to whose lectures on Virgil he looks back as the foundation and stimulus of any Virgilian learning that he possesses, and by the use of whose MS. notes he was much assisted in compiling the former edition.

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LIFE AND POEMS OF VIRGIL[1].

1. PUBLIUS VERGILIUS MARO was born Oct. 15th, B.C. 70, at Andes, a 'pagus' or country district near Mantua and the river Mincius, whose green banks and slow windings are recalled with affectionate memory in the Eclogues and Georgics. His parents were of obscure social position: but, like those of Horace, were able to appreciate their son's talent, and give him the best education then obtainable. At twelve years old he was sent to Cremona: and at sixteen, on assuming the 'toga virilis,' went to Mediolanum (Milan) for one year, removing thence to Rome in 53 B.C.; where he studied rhetoric under Epidius, and philosophy under Siron, a celebrated teacher of Epicureanism. In one of the collection of short poems known as 'Catalepton' (*τὰ κατὰ λεπτόν*, 'minor poems') or Catalecta (*καταλεκτά*, 'selections'), perhaps composed during his stay at Rome, Virgil expresses his preference for philosophy over rhetoric:

> Ite hinc, inanes, ite, rhetorum ampullae,
> Inflata rore non Achaico verba,
> Et vos, Stiloque, Tarquitique, Varroque,
> Scholasticorum natio . . . . . .
> Nos ad beatos vela mittimus portus,
> Magni petentes docta dicta Sironis[2].

Traces of the poet's early taste for philosophy, here first expressed, appear in a few well-known passages of his later poems, e.g. the song of Silenus in Ecl. vi; the references to didactic poetry in G. ii. 477 sqq.; the song of Iopas, Aen. i. 742–6; and the exposition of the 'Anima Mundi,' Aen. vi. 724 sqq.; as also in his admiration for and intimate acquaintance with the writings of Lucretius.

[1] In this edition the English spelling 'Virgil' is retained in preference to the less familiar 'Vergil,' used by some modern editors. The Latin form of the poet's name is 'Vergilius': but the Anglicised form 'Virgil' has (like 'Horace,' 'Livy,' 'Athens' &c.) the sanction of long usage, and is as legitimate for us as 'Virgilio' for Italians, or 'Virgile' for Frenchmen.

[2] Catal. vii.

2. It is uncertain how long Virgil remained at Rome. His stay there may have been interrupted by the outbreak of the Civil War in 49 B.C.; and he is said (though on no certain authority) to have studied at Neapolis (Naples) under one Parthenius. In B.C. 43 we find him at Mantua, engaged upon the Eclogues. In 41 B.C. he was ejected from his paternal farm by one of the soldiers to whom the Triumvirs Antonius, Octavianus, and Lepidus had assigned grants of land in Cisalpine Gaul. To this trouble Eclogues i and ix refer. Ecl. i speaks of a journey to Rome and restitution of the farm; Ecl. ix only alludes to ejection from it. If therefore Ecl. i is the earlier poem, it is necessary to suppose that he was a second time turned out, and that Ecl. ix refers to this second ejection. But probably Ecl. ix, containing a complaint of injury, was written earlier than Ecl. i, expressing gratitude for the redress of the injury. Ecl. iv and viii are complimentary to Pollio and Gallus, two friends who, holding important offices in the district, had backed the poet's application to Octavianus for the restitution of his farm; and Ecl. vi was perhaps a mark of gratitude to Varus, who had also assisted him. Ecl. v, which alludes to the apotheosis of Julius Caesar, may have been written 43–41 B.C.; and it must be later than Ecl. ii and iii, which are alluded to in it (ll. 86–7). Tradition connects Ecl. ii with Pollio, and Ecl. iii speaks of him (l. 84) as encouraging the poet: and one or both of these poems may have been written in 43 B.C., the year of Pollio's term of office as 'legatus' in Cisalpine Gaul. Ecl. ix (according to the view just given) was written in 41 B.C.; Ecl. i, iv, and perhaps vi, in 40 B.C., after the restitution of Virgil's farm; and Ecl. viii in 39 B.C., the year of Pollio's return in triumph from Illyria; Ecl. x, written about 38–37 B.C. when Agrippa was commanding an expedition across the Rhine into Gaul, being the last of the series. The composition of the Eclogues thus falls between the years 43 and 37 B.C.: their order (excluding Ecl. vii, which gives no indication of date) being presumably ii, iii, v, ix, i, iv, vi, viii, x.

3. In some difficulty connected with his farm, Virgil had been assisted by C. Cilnius Maecenas, the famous patron of his later years, in compliment to whom, and at whose suggestion[1], he

[1] G. iii. 40–1:

Interea Dryadum silvas saltusque sequamur
Intactos, tua, Maecenas, haud mollia iussa.

undertook the 'Georgics,' an agricultural poem based on the didactic poetry of Hesiod, Nicander and Aratus, as the Eclogues upon the pastoral poetry of Theocritus. The Georgics were read by Virgil and Maecenas to Augustus on his return from the East in 29 B.C.: and if, as Suetonius tells us, Virgil was engaged upon them for seven years, he began them in 36 B.C., a date intrinsically probable from the completion of the Eclogues in 37 B.C., and incidentally confirmed by the allusion in G. ii. 161 to the Julian harbour constructed in that year. At the end of G. iv Virgil himself states that much of them was written at Naples; and from G. iii. 10 it has been inferred that he had visited Greece: though the words 'Aonio deducam vertice Musas' need not imply more than 'Ascraeumque cano Romana per oppida carmen' (G. ii. 176)—i.e., the imitation and adaptation of Greek models. The only recorded visit of Virgil to Greece is that at the end of his life: but there is some difficulty in connecting with this the ode (i. 3) in which Horace speaks of the visit of his friend Vergilius to Attica, and an earlier visit is at any rate possible.

4. The remaining ten years of Virgil's life (29–19 B.C.) were devoted to the 'Aeneid,' the most enduring monument not only of his own fame, but of the fortunes of Rome; the epic of the Roman empire; the sacred book of the Roman religion, as summed up in the conception of 'Fortuna Urbis,' with its visible embodiment in the person of the Emperor; the expression of all the varied beliefs of the time—national, religious, historical, mythological; the 'Gesta Populi Romani,' as some called it on its first appearance. Ten or twelve years before, as we learn from Ecl. vi. 3–5, Virgil had thought of singing 'reges et proelia'; but the idea of an epic poem did not probably take definite shape in his mind before 29 B.C., in which year he writes (G. iii. 46–48) that he intends to celebrate Caesar's exploits. In the year 26 B.C., Augustus, then absent on a campaign in Spain, wrote to ask for a sight of the first draft of the poem or of selected passages from it: Virgil replied[1] that he had not yet completed anything worthy of his great undertaking or of the Emperor's ears: but three or four years after he consented to read three books (Aen. iv, vi and another) to the Emperor, the date being approximately determined by the death B.C. 23 of the young

[1] The poet's reply, or what purports to be such, is preserved by Macrobius, Sat. i. 24. 11.

Marcellus, to whose memory the famous passage vi. 860–886 was inserted. According to Suetonius, Virgil first drafted the story in prose, and then wrote different parts of it in no certain order, as the fancy took him: the division into twelve books being part of his original plan. Internal evidence bears out this statement: thus e.g. Book ix, where Nisus and Euryalus are introduced as though for the first time, was perhaps written before Book v, where they take a prominent part in the games [1]. Books iv and vi, as has been stated, were in a finished state about 23 B.C. Book iii was perhaps written before Book ii, or at any rate before Creusa's prophecy (ii. 775 sqq.) which is unnoticed in Book iii. The poet never lived to carry out his intended revision and correction of the whole epic: and the wonder is not that inconsistencies are found in it, but that the story is, on the whole, so consistently and harmoniously worked out.

5. In the year 19 B.C. Virgil, then in his 51st year, set out to travel in Greece and Asia, intending to devote three years to the completion and correction of the Aeneid. At Athens he met Augustus returning from the East and decided to go back with the Emperor to Rome: but was taken ill at Megara and died at Brundisium on Sept. 21st. His ashes were taken to Naples and buried in a tomb on the way to Puteoli, upon which was inscribed the pithy but comprehensive epitaph:

> Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc
> Parthenope; cecini pascua, rura, duces.

He is said to have acquired, from imperial and other benefactions, a considerable fortune: half of which he left to his half-brother, a quarter to Augustus, and a twelfth to Maecenas and each of his friends Varius and Tucca. To the two latter, as literary executors, he left all his writings on the understanding that they should publish nothing which he had not already published. Fortunately for literature, they saw that the truest friendship would be shown in disregarding such requests, and proceeded to edit the Aeneid with only such corrections as were absolutely necessary, leaving unfinished lines and inconsistencies of detail exactly as they found them. In what they did and in what they left undone, they were faithful to their friend's memory. Nor is the tradition improbable that they acted under the instructions, or at least with the sanction,

[1] Aen. ix. 176–181; v. 294–361.

of the Emperor himself: for besides the friendly interest which he is known to have taken in Virgil and his work, Augustus was fully capable of discerning the merits of that work and its probable value as a testimony to his own renown. Policy, no less than literary taste, would determine so shrewd a ruler to encourage such 'vates sacri' as Virgil and Horace.

6. The poetical reputation accorded to Virgil was immediate and lasting. The friendly prediction of Propertius written while the Aeneid was in progress—

> Cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Graii;
> Nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade—

hardly outdid the estimate actually formed of it upon its appearance. From all literary circles in Rome, and particularly from poets, Virgil won immediate and unstinting appreciation. Ovid writes of him—

> Tityrus et fruges Aeneïaque arma legentur,
> Roma triumphati dum caput orbis erit:

and later Roman poets, with the exception perhaps of Lucan, paid him the sincere flattery of undisguised imitation. Juvenal has many references to familiar passages in the Aeneid: Martial, among other tributes of admiration, says that Virgil might have surpassed Horace in lyric and Varius in dramatic poetry: and Pliny the younger tells us that among the busts, etc. possessed by the poet Silius Italicus were those—'Vergilii ante omnes, cuius natalem religiosius quam sui celebravit, Neapoli maxime, ubi monumentum eius adire ut templum solebat.' But perhaps the greatest testimonies of literary genius to his influence are the frequent imitation of his style in the language of Tacitus, and the homage paid by Dante, as by a disciple to his master. His writings soon became, and continued into the Middle Ages to be, the great text-book of education: and, together with the events of his life, supplied material for lectures, essays and comments to a long series of grammarians and collectors of literary gossip like Aulus Gellius and Macrobius. His name in due course became the centre of various popular traditions: some of which represented him as an enchanter or magician, others as a Christian teacher. The association of his name with magic powers may have been suggested partly by Ecl. viii (Pharmaceutria), partly by the account of the

world below in Aen. vi, partly by his mother's name Magia: and perhaps led to the peculiar mode of divination known as the 'Sortes Virgilianae'—i.e., opening the poems at random to find some omen for the future. The other class of traditions originated in the supposed connection of Ecl. iv ('the Messianic Eclogue') with prophecies of Christ, which took a strong hold on the imagination of Christendom, and may have contributed to Dante's selection of Virgil as a guide through the 'Inferno' and 'Purgatorio.'

7. For questions affecting the literary criticism of Virgil's poetry, the student is referred to Professor Sellar's volume on 'The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age,' Professor Nettleship's 'Suggestions Introductory to a Study of the Aeneid,' and the Introductions in Professor Conington's edition. A word may here be said on two points which are often insisted upon in disparagement of Virgil's fame. Want of originality is the commonest, as it is the easiest, charge. The borrowed element lies upon the surface. The Eclogues reflect, or rather reproduce Theocritus; the Georgics are, as Virgil himself calls them, *Ascraeum carmen*, a reminiscence of Hesiod; and the Aeneid is full of imitations of Homer, which to modern taste seem crude and inartistic. But the ideas of Virgil's own time were different. Imitation of Greek models was characteristic of all Roman literature. And as the only great presentment of heroic times open to Virgil was that of the Homeric poems, it would have seemed impossible for him to cast his epic in any other mould than that of the Iliad and Odyssey. 'To reproduce their form in Roman outline, use their details, absorb their spirit, surpass if possible their effect, would be his first and most natural ambition;' as indeed he himself expresses it (G. iii. 10)—

> Primus ego in patriam mecum, modo vita supersit,
> Aonio rediens deducam vertice Musas.

So Horace lays down his canon of success in poetry—

> Vos exemplaria Graeca
> Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna:

and estimates in language not unlike Virgil's his own title to poetic fame—

> Dicar . . . ex humili potens
> Princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos
> Deduxisse modos. (Od. iii. 30. 10.)

We see from Horace that increased familiarity with Greek masterpieces made Roman critics of the Augustan age depreciate their own early literature: and similarly, the great advance of Greek scholarship in modern times has led recent critics to disparage Virgil's claim to rank among the great poets of the world. But the unbroken ascendency of eighteen centuries, and the unquestioning homage paid by scholars, critics, poets, orators and statesmen to the 'chastest poet and royalest, Virgilius Maro, that to the memory of man is known,' are facts that cannot be gainsaid: and a poet whose genius could absorb the admiration of Dante, and whose influence probably helped more than any other to inform the poetical spirit and verse of Milton, must have had wider and more solid qualities than mere technical skill in versification—something more than the dignity of expression, exquisite rhythm, and delicate tenderness of handling, which all recognise.

8. Virgil has also, in common with Horace, incurred the reproach of undue servility and court-flattery. From a modern point of view, no doubt, the language which each poet uses about Augustus is open to such criticism: but if we go back to the literary conditions and ideas of their time, we see that it expresses a genuine popular sentiment for the Emperor as the visible impersonation and representative of the fortunes of Rome. Feelings of Greek hero-worship, of Eastern monarchical sentiment, and of revived national enthusiasm for the 'Imperium Romanum,' centred in Augustus as the restorer of peace and order after civil war and bloodshed, and as the upholder of the old Roman customs and religion against the threatened inroad of Eastern barbarism with Antony and his 'Aegyptia coniunx.' From this point of view the opening lines of Georg. i and iii, and similar passages, however repugnant to modern taste, are neither unnatural nor derogatory to Virgil's poetic fame. Right or wrong, they express the thoughts not of a courtier, but of a nation; and the poet by whom those thoughts are 'married to immortal verse' deserves, if ever poet did, the name of 'national.'

9. The text of Virgil's poems rests upon a greater variety of MSS. than almost any other ancient writings with the exception of the New Testament. The 'uncial' or 'capital' MSS. of the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. are the oldest extant specimens of writing (as distinguished from letters cut on stone), except a few fragments, e.g., of papyrus from Herculaneum. And while comparatively few Latin

authors are represented by even one MS. of so early a date, and some of the most important (e.g. Horace, Lucretius, Caesar) by nothing earlier than the 8th or 9th century A.D., of Virgil there are four more or less complete MSS. and three sets of fragments that can be assigned to the 4th and 5th century[1]. The four great MSS. are—

1. 'Vatican' (F.), in the Vatican Library at Rome: 4th century: contains portions of G. iii, iv, and Aen. i–viii.

2. 'Medicean' (M.), in the Laurentian Library at Florence: 5th century: contains Ecl. from vi. 48, Georg. and Aen.

3. 'Palatine' (P.), in the Vatican Library at Rome, formerly in the Palatine Library at Heidelberg: 4th century: contains Ecl., Georg. and Aen., with 33 leaves out of 280 wanting.

4. 'Roman' (R.), in the Vatican Library: 4th century: contains Ecl., Georg. and Aen., with 76 leaves out of 309 wanting.

The following are fragments:

5. 'St. Gall Palimpsest' (G.), in the Library of St. Gall (Switzerland): 4th century: 10 leaves containing portions of G. iv, and Aen. i, iii, iv.

6. 'Verona Palimpsest' (V.), in the Chapter Library at Verona: 4th or 5th century; 51 leaves containing about 1320 lines.

7. 'Berlin Palimpsest' (A.), 4th century: 7 leaves, partly at Rome, partly at Berlin, containing G. i. 41–280, iii. 181–220.

Besides these leading authorities, there is a great number of later 'cursive' MSS., from the 9th century onwards (the Bodleian Library alone has 45) of little independent value. Incidental testimony to the text of particular passages is given by the remarks of ancient commentators that have been preserved to us, e.g., Donatus (4th century), the teacher of St. Jerome, celebrated for his commentary on Terence and for a hand-book of grammar (Donati regulae) widely used in the Middle Ages; and Servius (end of 4th cent.), whose commentary embodies many results of early Virgilian learning. Imitations by later poets (Statius, Silius Italicus, Claudian, etc.) and quotations by writers such as Pliny, Quintilian or Seneca, and

[1] A description of these MSS., with a critical estimate of their relative peculiarities and value, is given in Ribbeck's Prolegomena, chs. xi–xiii, pp. 218–320; facsimiles of the writing being appended to the Index. Photographic facsimiles of single leaves may be found in the collection published by the Palaeographical Society, and that of Zangemeister and Wattenbach (Heidelberg).

lexicographers such as Verrius Flaccus, Aulus Gellius, and Macrobius, sometimes give corroborative evidence to Virgil's meaning and even to his text. But as they may have misunderstood the former and were careless of exactness in the latter, their testimony is of no great value. Since the invention of printing numberless editions of Virgil have appeared, from the 'Editio Princeps' at Rome in 1469: the first English edition (from the press of Wynkin de Worde) bearing date 1512. Of recent commentaries on Virgil, the standard work of Professor Conington, completed by Professor Nettleship, is too well known to require praise: while to the critical edition of Ribbeck, whatever be its faults of over suspiciousness of the received text, and over confidence in the author's own critical sagacity to correct and amend, Virgilian students owe the possession of a more complete 'apparatus criticus' than has hitherto been at their disposal.

THE VIRGILIAN HEXAMETER[1].

1. The Latin Hexameter, first adapted from the Greek by Ennius, and gradually improved by a series of more or less known poets, reached its highest and final perfection with Virgil; all subsequent poets being content to follow as nearly as might be the Virgilian model. The characteristic features of that model are best seen in contrast with the previous efforts of the chief poets that employed this metre—viz. Ennius, Lucretius, and Catullus.

2. The Hexameter is in technical language a 'Dactylic Hexameter Catalectic,' the last foot losing its final syllable: and consists therefore of five dactyls and a trochee (– ◡). Each dactyl

[1] For fuller information on points noticed in this section, the following authorities may be consulted. On the Hexameter of Ennius, Cruttwell, 'Hist. of Roman Literature,' Book I. ch. vi. pp. 71–73; Wordsworth, 'Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin,' Notes, § 5 to ch. iv. pp. 585, 586; on that of Catullus, Ellis, in 'Prolegomena,' pp. xix sqq.; on that of Lucretius, Munro, Introd. to Notes II. pp. 102–107 (first ed.); on that of Virgil, Wagner, 'Quaest. Virg.' xi, xii, xiii; Gossrau, 'Excursus de Hexametro Virgilii,' pp. 624–646; Nettleship, 'Excursus' to Aen. xii in Conington's edition 'On the Lengthening of Short Final Syllables in Virgil;' Kennedy, Appendix C on 'Virgilian Prosody:' and on the Latin Hexameter in general, Public School Latin Grammar, §§ 225, 226.

(– ◡◡) is equivalent to a spondee (– –), for ◡◡ = –; and in the first four feet, dactyls and spondees are used indifferently, the former being more numerous in Greek, the latter in Latin. The fifth foot is almost always a dactyl, perhaps to mark clearly the dactylic character of the verse. The last foot may be trochee or spondee, the quantity of the final syllable being indifferent (except where, as in Greek anapaests, the scansion runs on from verse to verse by 'synaphea'): but it is probable that Latin poets, from Ennius downwards, regarded it as a real spondee. The rhythm and harmony of a hexameter verse depend mainly upon 'Caesura[1],' i.e. the coincidence somewhere in the second, third, fourth or fifth feet of the end of a word with the middle of a foot: and the metrical effect of a series of hexameter verses depends on the judicious variation (1) of caesura, (2) of the proportion of dactyls and spondees, (3) of the place in the verse at which the pauses in sense occur, (4) on the cadence of the verse in the last two feet. It is in the care bestowed on these points that Virgil's rhythm is chiefly distinguished from that of Ennius and Lucretius. In the fifth and sixth feet he employs, *as a rule*, only two varieties of rhythm, (1) the fifth foot (dactyl) contained in one word and ending with it—'vōlvĕrĕ | Pārcās;' (2) caesura between the short syllables of the dactyl—'saevīquĕ | dŏlōrēs.' All other closing rhythms are with him exceptional, sometimes in imitation of Greek rhythm (e.g. hȳmĕnēāōs, cȳpărīssīs, Lāŏdămīā), sometimes for special effect (e.g. 'quādrŭpĕdāntūm' Aen. xi. 614, 'pudeāt sōlă neve' G. i. 80, 'procūmbĭt hŭmī bōs;' or spondaic endings, as 'ābscōndāntūr' G. i. 226, 'purpureō nārcīssō' Ecl. v. 38).

3. A purely dactylic line, common enough in Greek (e.g. Iliad i. 13, 25, 31, 32, 34, 54, and so on in like proportion), is comparatively rare in Virgil's epic poetry; such a line as 'Quadrupedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum' (Aen. viii. 596, cp. G. iii. 201) being a conscious imitation of the sound of galloping, and its jerky movement being foreign to the stately march of epic rhythm. The greater length of many Greek words, with a greater

[1] Caesura is technically called (*a*) 'Trihemimeral' (after three ἡμιμέρεις or half-feet) after 1½ feet; (*b*) 'Penthemimeral' after 2½ feet; (*c*) 'Hephthemimeral' after 3½ feet; (*d*) 'Ennehemimeral' after 4½ feet: e.g.

'Hinc populum (*a*) | late (*b*) | regem (*c*) | belloque (*d*) | superbum.'

The most important caesura is (*b*), which is sufficient to make a verse harmonious—e.g. 'Illius immensae | ruperunt horrea messes.'

abundance of long compounds, prevented the Homeric hexameter from moving too rapidly or jerkily—e.g. Iliad i. 87 *Εὐχόμενος Δαναοῖσι θεοπροπίας ἀναφαίνεις*: but in Virgil the rapid movement is almost always checked and rhythm, as it were, collected and steadied by a spondaic fourth foot—e.g. Aen. i. 45 'Turbine corripuit scopuloque īnfixit acuto.' The spondaic fourth foot is indeed specially characteristic of Virgil's epic rhythm, as the dactylic fourth foot ending a word ('Bucolic caesura') is of his Eclogues in imitation of Theocritus: and wherever, for the sake of variety, the fourth foot is dactylic, one or more of the preceding feet is spondaic to restore the balance. The student can verify this for himself on any page of the Aeneid.

It thus seems that Virgil, in adapting the Homeric hexameter to the Latin language, realised that its dactylic rhythm must be modified by a large admixture of 'spondei stabiles,' as Horace calls them (A. P. 256). A considerable majority of his verses have at least three spondees (including the last foot); and the proportion of fifteen such lines in Aen. i. 1–20 to nine in Iliad i. 1–20 may be taken as a rough measure of the extent to which he carried out this modification of Homeric rhythm. A spondee in the first foot, contained in a single word and followed by a pause in sense, is almost the only circumstance under which he seems to shrink from spondaic rhythm in the first four feet: and the somewhat slow and ponderous movement thus given to the verse at starting is reserved, as a rule, for the special expression of solemnity or emotion (see e.g. Ecl. v. 21; Aen. iv. 185, vi. 213).

4. The hexameters of Ennius are a first experiment to reproduce, in a rough unpolished material, the rhythm of Homer. The conditions under which the metre could be adapted to Roman usage had yet to be discovered: caesura, cadence, proportion—all the niceties of rhythm which combine to form the charm of Virgil's verse—were to him unknown. The rude and tentative imitation of a great model by a vigorous and powerful hand struck out indeed here and there a line which Virgil did not disdain to borrow (e.g. 'Tuque pater Tiberine tuo cum flumine sancto'), or a passage of grave solemnity, as the lament for Romulus—

'o Romule, Romule die,
Qualem te patriae custodem di genuerunt!
O pater o genitor o sanguen dis oriundum,
Tu produxisti nos intra luminis oras' (Enn. Ann. 115–118).

but it also produced much that was harsh and abhorrent to the culture of after years (see Hor. A. P. 258 sqq.), and much that could scarcely be distinguished from prose. But in settling the quantity of Latin words and moulding them into forms suitable for hexameter verse he paved the way for others, and was deservedly reverenced as the pioneer

'qui primus amoeno
Detulit ex Helicone perenni fronde coronam' (Lucr. i. 117).

5. Lucretius marks a great advance upon Ennius, though in some respects his rhythm is (perhaps intentionally) more archaic than that of his contemporary Catullus; whose hexameters, however, with their monotonous cadence ('prognatae vertice pinus, Neptuni nasse per undas, Argivae robora pubis' lxiv. 1, 2, 4), are far less effective. The following points of contrast between the Lucretian and Virgilian hexameter are noted by Munro: (1) the first two feet separated from the rest—'Religionibus atque minis, Ergo vivida vis,' etc.; such rhythms being rare in Virgil ('Armentarius Afer' G. iii. 344, 'Sed tu desine velle' G. iv. 448); (2) in the last two feet, such endings as 'principiorum,' 'materiai,' 'quandoquidem exstat;' (3) elision after the fourth foot—'Perdelirum esse videtur, nisi concilio ante coacto;' (4) fourth foot wholly contained in a word, and ending with it—'quae terras frugiferentes,' 'tibi suaves daedala tellus' (not 'terras quae . . . suaves tibi'), etc.; (5) copious use of alliteration and assonance, occasionally adopted by Virgil under Lucretian influence.

6. The most common 'licenses' or metrical irregularities in Virgil are—

(i.) **Lengthening of short final syllables.** This occurs only in arsi (i. e. in the emphatic syllable of a foot, upon which the metrical ictus falls), and seldom where there is not a pause or slight break in the sentence: and it is used by him as a purely antiquarian ornament. With Ennius, on the contrary, whom Virgil seems to follow in this licence, the apparent violation of quantity as fixed in Augustan prosody is no 'licence,' because the syllables in question were originally long, and were subsequently shortened by a familiar tendency of the Latin language, due mainly to the fact that final syllables were never accented.

(*a*) Nouns, etc. in '-or;' 'Amōr et' Ecl. x. 69, 'labōr: aeque' G. iii. 118, 'meliōr insignis' G. iv. 92. The corresponding Greek -ωρ, and the prosody of oblique cases ('amōris,' etc.), point to the

original length of this syllable, which is always so in Ennius, even in thesi, i.e. the unemphatic syllable of a foot, e.g.

'Clamōr ad caelum volvendus per aethera vagit' (Ann. 520).

The same applies to 'patēr' (πατήρ) Aen. v. 521: but 'puēr' (Ecl. ix. 66), 'supēr' (Aen. vi. 254), 'ebūr' (Aen. xii. 68), show that Virgil uses the licence as mere matter of form, with no thought of etymology.

(*b*) Verb terminations in 'r:' '-or' of first pres. pass. is naturally long, and is so used by Ennius and Plautus. Virgil does not follow them in this; but has in 3 sing. 'ingreditūr' (G. iii. 76), 'datūr' (Aen. v. 284), and in 1 plur. 'obruimūr' (Aen. ii. 211), neither of which has any precedent in Ennius.

(*c*) Noun terminations in '-s;' 'sanguīs' always in Lucretius, once only in Virgil (Aen. x. 487): '-ūs' from 'o-' stems (G. iii. 189, Aen. v. 337, etc.) is found also in Ennius, perhaps from imitation of Homeric use in e.g. Iliad i. 244 *χωόμενος, ὅτ' ἄριστον Ἀχαιῶν οὐδὲν ἔτισας*: '-būs' dat. plur. (Aen. iv. 64) has no example in Ennius and few in Plautus.

(*d*) Verb terminations in '-s:' only 'fatigamus' (Aen. ix. 610), which finds no analogy in Ennius or in the corresponding Greek -μες, -μεν.

(*e*) Verb-endings in '-t' (3 sing.); 'āt' of pres. ind. 1st conj. generally in Ennius and often in Plautus, never in Virgil; '-āt' of imperf. in Plautus and Ennius even in thesi ('Noenum rumores ponebāt ante salutem' 314); in Virgil only in arsi (Ecl. i. 39, Aen. v. 853, xii. 722, etc.): '-ēt' pres. indic. Aen. i. 308; imp. subj. ib. 651: 'īt' pres. indic. 3rd conj. Ecl. vii. 23, Aen. x. 433; 'erīt' (fut.) Ecl. iii. 97, Aen. xii. 883: '-īt' perf. indic. (as originally) G. ii. 211, Aen. viii. 363.

(*f*) Miscellaneous: 'procūl' Aen. viii. 98, 'capūt' x. 394.

(*g*) Vowel-endings: only 'graviā' Aen. iii. 464, 'Getā' (nom. sing.) ib. 702, 'animā' (nom. sing.) xii. 648; and thirteen instances of 'quē' (see on Aen. iii. 464), in imitation of Homeric usage making τε long before double consonants, liquids, and sibilants.

[Full lists of examples, from Wagner, 'Quaest. Virg.' xii, are given in Professor Nettleship's 'Excursus' to Aen. xii. (ed. Conington), and Dr. Kennedy's Appendix, C, II. (pp. 622–4, 2nd ed.)]

7. (ii.) **Hiatus**, i.e. non-elision of a vowel or diphthong before

another vowel or aspirate. This licence appears from a statement of Cicero (Orator 45. 152[1]) to have been common with the older Latin poets, and occurs frequently in the dialogue of Plautus and Terence[2]: but it is used sparingly by later poets. The most common conditions for its admission are (1) after long monosyllables, retaining their quantity in arsi, or shortened in thesi, (e.g. the interjections 'heu!' 'o!' 'spē ĭnĭmica' Aen. iv. 235, 'te Corydon ŏ Alexi' Ecl. ii. 85, 'ān quĭ ămant' viii. 108, 'tĕ amice' Aen. vi. 507): (2) at the regular caesuras; (3) wherever there is a distinct pause in the sense (e.g. in dialogue, at the change of speaker).

Of the fifty-three examples cited by Wagner (Q. V. xi) from Virgil, forty show the unelided syllable in arsi, and therefore metrically emphatic. Of thirteen examples in thesi, eleven are cases of a long vowel shortened (Ecl. ii. 65, iii. 79, vi. 44, viii. 108; G. i. 281, 332, 437, iv. 461; Aen. iii. 211, v. 261, vi. 507), which thus seems the necessary condition for hiatus in thesi; the remaining two (Ecl. iii. 53, Aen. i. 405) being justified by a distinct pause in the sense. Of the forty examples in arsi, twenty-seven occur at one or other of the two important caesurae, the penthemimeral and hephthemimeral (see above, footnote to § 2): ten of the remainder being at the ennehemimeral caesura (e.g. 'Amphion Dircaeus in Actaeo | Aracyntho' Ecl. ii. 24), in obvious imitation of the frequent Homeric cadence Πηληιάδεω Ἀχιλῆος (Il. i. 1). Five of these latter, unlike the bulk of Homeric examples, are spondaic endings (Ecl. viii. 53 'castaneae hirsutae,' Aen. iii. 74, vii. 631, ix. 647, xi. 31), due especially to the less dactylic character of the Latin language (see above, § 3); similar endings in Homer being generally quadrisyllabic words (Ἀτρεΐδαο, Πηλειῶνα, etc.) and never with trisyllable words embracing hiatus.

[1] Cicero is speaking of the tendency of Roman speech to run together vowels, contrary to Greek practice, which allows hiatus: 'Sed Graeci viderint; nobis ne si cupiamus quidem distrahere voces conceditur. Indicant . . . omnes poëtae praeter eos qui ut versum facerent saepe hiabant, ut Naevius "Vos qui accolitis Histrum flumen, atque algidam . . ."' citing also from Ennius and his own poems.

[2] Ritschl and others, who, by alteration of text, restoration of obsolete final consonants, etc. try to minimise hiatus in the comic writers, allow it in about one out of twenty-two lines in Plautus and one out of sixty-six in Terence. Wagner (Q. V. xi) cites fifty-three examples from Virgil.

8. (iii.) **Hypermetric lines**—i.e. with an additional syllable after the final trochee or spondee; this syllable being always one that may be elided, while the next line must begin with a vowel or aspirate. This licence (resting apparently on a false assumption that the scansion of hexameter verses is continuous, as in Greek anapaests, and that the sixth foot is complete, i.e. a real spondee) was unknown to Homer; *οὐκ οἶδ'* at the close of a line of Callimachus being the only known instance in Greek hexameters. Lucretius employs it once (v. 849), Catullus rarely, in lyric metre —e.g. lxi. 147 (Glyconic), and perhaps xi. 19 (Sapphic)—but there 'omnīūm' may be dissyllable by synizesis, as 'precantia' Aen. vii. 237 (cp. 'ōmnīā' vi. 33). It is found in an iambic line of Pacuvius preserved by Cicero, Tusc. iii. 12. 26; and occasionally in Terence —e.g. Phorm. ii. 1. 63; Ad. ii. 2. 9, iii. 3. 21 (iambic); And. iv. 1. 9 (cretic); Eun. iv. 1. 11 (trochaic). Wagner on G. ii. 69 hardly proves its use by Ennius: nor do Greek dramatists use it, as he says, 'infinitis locis.' By whomever introduced into Latin hexameters it is a purely artificial licence, and as such is used by Virgil. In eighteen out of twenty-two instances in his poems, the hypermetric syllable is 'que;' in G. i. 295 he has 'decoquit umor|em,' and in Aen. vii. 160 'tecta Latino|rum.' In all these twenty examples the preceding syllable is long, making the last foot a spondee: but in G. ii. 69, iii. 449, we have, if MSS. are to be trusted, hypermetric syllables preceded by trochees (see note to G. ii. 69).

9. Like all great masters of poetic rhythm, Virgil shows his power in the accommodation of sound to sense. Familiar examples of single lines are Aen. v. 481 (the sudden collapse of a stricken ox), viii. 452 (the steady swing of the Cyclops' hammers), viii. 596 (the sound of galloping horses): but the poet's art is also shown in passages of varied length, from the two lines expressive of the 'moping owl's' complaint (Aen. iv. 462, 463), to the fine description of a storm in G. i. 316–334 (see especially 328–334). Among innumerable examples the following are noticeable: of single lines, G. ii. 441 (gusts of wind assaulting a tree), iii. 201 (the swift rush of the wind as of a horse let loose); of longer passages, G. i. 108–110 (sudden irrigation), Aen. x. 101–104 (the hush of all Nature at Jupiter's word), ib. 821-824 (the revulsion of feeling over a fallen foe), xii. 951, 952, (the creeping chill of death followed by the quick flight to Hades of the indignant soul). Every reader who

can appreciate poetic rhythm will find others for himself. The greatness of Virgil's rhythm, its undefinable charm and pathos, its power to touch the hidden chords of human feeling, are beyond dispute: and though familiar association with particular lines and passages may invest them with the expression of more than the poet's thought, such capacity of adaptation to new feelings is one more testimony to their inherent poetry.

AENEIS.

LIBER QUARTUS.

At regina gravi iamdudum saucia cura
vulnus alit venis, et caeco carpitur igni.
Multa viri virtus animo multusque recursat
gentis honos, haerent infixi pectore vultus
verbaque, nec placidam membris dat cura quietem.
Postera Phoebea lustrabat lampade terras
umentemque Aurora polo dimoverat umbram,
cum sic unanimam alloquitur male sana sororem:
'Anna soror, quae me suspensam insomnia terrent?
Quis novus hic nostris successit sedibus hospes,
quem sese ore ferens, quam forti pectore et armis?
Credo equidem, nec vana fides, genus esse deorum.
Degeneres animos timor arguit. Heu quibus ille
iactatus fatis! quae bella exhausta canebat!
Si mihi non animo fixum immotumque sederet
ne cui me vinclo vellem sociare iugali,
postquam primus amor deceptam morte fefellit;
si non pertaesum thalami taedaeque fuisset,
huic uni forsan potui succumbere culpae.
Anna, fatebor enim, miseri post fata Sychaei
coniugis et sparsos fraterna caede penates,
solus hic inflexit sensus animumque labantem
impulit. Agnosco veteris vestigia flammae.
Sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat,
vel Pater omnipotens abigat me fulmine ad umbras,
pallentes umbras Erebo noctemque profundam,
ante, Pudor, quam te violo, aut tua iura resolvo.
Ille meos, primus qui me sibi iunxit, amores

abstulit; ille habeat secum servetque sepulcro.'
Sic effata sinum lacrimis implevit obortis.
Anna refert: 'O luce magis dilecta sorori,
solane perpetua maerens carpere iuventa,
nec dulces natos Veneris nec praemia noris?
id cinerem aut manes credis curare sepultos?
Esto, aegram nulli quondam flexere mariti,
non Libyae, non ante Tyro; despectus Iarbas
ductoresque alii, quos Africa terra triumphis
dives alit: placitone etiam pugnabis amori?
nec venit in mentem, quorum consederis arvis?
Hinc Gaetulae urbes, genus insuperabile bello,
et Numidae infreni cingunt et inhospita Syrtis,
hinc deserta siti regio lateque furentes
Barcaei. Quid bella Tyro surgentia dicam
germanique minas?
Dis equidem auspicibus reor et Iunone secunda
hunc cursum Iliacas vento tenuisse carinas.
Quam tu urbem, soror, hanc cernes, quae surgere regna
coniugio tali! Teucrum comitantibus armis
Punica se quantis attollet gloria rebus!
Tu modo posce deos veniam, sacrisque litatis
indulge hospitio, causasque innecte morandi,
dum pelago desaevit hiemps et aquosus Orion,
quassataeque rates, dum non tractabile caelum.
His dictis incensum animum flammavit amore,
spemque dedit dubiae menti solvitque pudorem.
Principio delubra adeunt pacemque per aras
exquirunt; mactant lectas de more bidentes
legiferae Cereri Phoeboque patrique Lyaeo,
Iunoni ante omnes, cui vincla iugalia curae.
Ipsa tenens dextra pateram pulcherrima Dido
candentis vaccae media inter cornua fundit,
aut ante ora deum pingues spatiatur ad aras,
instauratque diem donis, pecudumque reclusis
pectoribus inhians spirantia consulit exta.
Heu vatum ignarae mentes! quid vota furentem,
quid delubra iuvant? Est molles flamma medullas
interea, et tacitum vivit sub pectore vulnus.

Uritur infelix Dido totaque vagatur
urbe furens, qualis coniecta cerva sagitta,
quam procul incautam nemora inter Cresia fixit
pastor agens telis, liquitque volatile ferrum
nescius; illa fuga silvas saltusque peragrat
Dictaeos, haeret lateri letalis harundo.
Nunc media Aenean secum per moenia ducit
Sidoniasque ostentat opes urbemque paratam;
incipit effari mediaque in voce resistit;
nunc eadem labente die convivia quaerit,
Iliacosque iterum demens audire labores
exposcit pendetque iterum narrantis ab ore.
Post ubi digressi, lumenque obscura vicissim
luna premit, suadentque cadentia sidera somnos,
sola domo maeret vacua, stratisque relictis
incubat; illum absens absentem auditque videtque:
aut gremio Ascanium, genitoris imagine capta,
detinet, infandum si fallere possit amorem.
Non coeptae assurgunt turres, non arma iuventus
exercet, portusve aut propugnacula bello
tuta parant: pendent opera interrupta minaeque
murorum ingentes aequataque machina caelo.
  Quam simul ac tali persensit peste teneri
cara Iovis coniunx, nec famam obstare furori,
talibus aggreditur Venerem Saturnia dictis:
'Egregiam vero laudem et spolia ampla refertis
tuque puerque tuus, magnum et memorabile numen,
una dolo divum si femina victa duorum est.
nec me adeo fallit veritam te moenia nostra
suspectas habuisse domos Carthaginis altae.
Sed quis erit modus, aut quo nunc certamine tanto?
Quin potius pacem aeternam pactosque hymenaeos
exercemus? habes, tota quod mente petisti:
ardet amans Dido traxitque per ossa furorem.
Communem hunc ergo populum paribusque regamus
auspiciis, liceat Phrygio servire marito,
dotalesque tuae Tyrios permittere dextrae.'
  Olli (sensit enim simulata mente locutam,
quo regnum Italiae Libycas averteret oras)

sic contra est ingressa Venus: 'Quis talia demens
abnuat, aut tecum malit contendere bello,
si modo quod memoras factum fortuna sequatur?
Sed fatis incerta feror si Iuppiter unam
esse velit Tyriis urbem Troiaque profectis,
miscerive probet populos aut foedera iungi.
Tu coniunx, tibi fas animum temptare precando.
Perge: sequar.' Tum sic excepit regia Iuno:
'Mecum erit iste labor. Nunc qua ratione quod instat
confieri possit, paucis, adverte, docebo.
Venatum Aeneas unaque miserrima Dido
in nemus ire parant, ubi primos crastinus ortus
extulerit Titan radiisque retexerit orbem.
His ego nigrantem commixta grandine nimbum,
dum trepidant alae saltusque indagine cingunt,
desuper infundam, et tonitru caelum omne ciebo.
Diffugient comites et nocte tegentur opaca:
speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem
devenient. Adero et, tua si mihi certa voluntas,
conubio iungam stabili propriamque dicabo;
hic hymenaeus erit.' Non adversata petenti
annuit atque dolis risit Cytherea repertis.
Oceanum interea surgens Aurora reliquit.
It portis iubare exorto delecta iuventus;
retia rara, plagae, lato venabula ferro,
Massylique ruunt equites et odora canum vis.
Reginam thalamo cunctantem ad limina primi
Poenorum exspectant, ostroque insignis et auro
stat sonipes ac frena ferox spumantia mandit.
Tandem progreditur magna stipante caterva,
Sidoniam picto chlamydem circumdata limbo.
Cui pharetra ex auro, crines nodantur in aurum,
aurea purpuream subnectit fibula vestem.
Nec non et Phrygii comites et laetus Iulus
incedunt. Ipse ante alios pulcherrimus omnes
infert se socium Aeneas atque agmina iungit.
Qualis ubi hibernam Lyciam Xanthique fluenta
deserit ac Delum maternam invisit Apollo
instauratque choros, mixtique altaria circum

Cretesque Dryopesque fremunt pictique Agathyrsi;
ipse iugis Cynthi graditur, mollique fluentem
fronde premit crinem fingens atque implicat auro,
tela sonant umeris: haud illo segnior ibat
Aeneas, tantum egregio decus enitet ore.
Postquam altos ventum in montes atque invia lustra,
ecce ferae saxi deiectae vertice caprae
decurrere iugis; alia de parte patentes
transmittunt cursu campos atque agmina cervi
pulverulenta fuga glomerant montesque relinquunt.
At puer Ascanius mediis in vallibus acri
gaudet equo, iamque hos cursu, iam praeterit illos,
spumantemque dari pecora inter inertia votis
optat aprum, aut fulvum descendere monte leonem.
 Interea magno misceri murmure caelum
incipit, insequitur commixta grandine nimbus:
et Tyrii comites passim et Troiana iuventus
Dardaniusque nepos Veneris diversa per agros
tecta metu petiere; ruunt de montibus amnes.
Speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem
deveniunt. Prima et Tellus et pronuba Iuno
dant signum: fulsere ignes et conscius aether
conubiis, summoque ulularunt vertice Nymphae.
Ille dies primus leti primusque malorum
causa fuit. Neque enim specie famave movetur,
nec iam furtivum Dido meditatur amorem:
coniugium vocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam.
 Extemplo Libyae magnas it Fama per urbes,
Fama, malum qua non aliud velocius ullum:
mobilitate viget, viresque acquirit eundo,
parva metu primo, mox sese attollit in auras
ingrediturque solo et caput inter nubila condit.
Illam Terra parens, ira irritata deorum,
extremam, ut perhibent, Coeo Enceladoque sororem
progenuit pedibus celerem et pernicibus alis,
monstrum horrendum ingens, cui, quot sunt corpore plumae,
tot vigiles oculi subter (mirabile dictu),
tot linguae, totidem ora sonant, tot surrigit aures.
Nocte volat caeli medio terraeque per umbram

stridens, nec dulci declinat lumina somno;
luce sedet custos aut summi culmine tecti
turribus aut altis, et magnas territat urbes,
tam ficti pravique tenax quam nuntia veri.
Haec tum multiplici populos sermone replebat
gaudens et pariter facta atque infecta canebat:
venisse Aenean Troiano sanguine cretum,
cui se pulchra viro dignetur iungere Dido;
nunc hiemem inter se luxu, quam longa, fovere
regnorum immemores turpique cupidine captos.
Haec passim dea foeda virum diffundit in ora.
Protinus ad regem cursus detorquet Iarban,
incenditque animum dictis atque aggerat iras.
Hic Hammone satus rapta Garamantide Nympha
templa Iovi centum latis immania regnis,
centum aras posuit vigilemque sacraverat ignem,
excubias divum aeternas; pecudumque cruore
pingue solum et variis florentia limina sertis.
Isque amens animi et rumore accensus amaro
dicitur ante aras media inter numina divum
multa Iovem manibus supplex orasse supinis:
'Iuppiter omnipotens, cui nunc Maurusia pictis
gens epulata toris Lenaeum libat honorem,
aspicis haec? an te, genitor, cum fulmina torques,
nequiquam horremus, caecique in nubibus ignes
terrificant animos et inania murmura miscent?
Femina, quae nostris errans in finibus urbem
exiguam pretio posuit, cui litus arandum
cuique loci leges dedimus, conubia nostra
reppulit ac dominum Aenean in regna recepit.
Et nunc ille Paris cum semiviro comitatu,
Maeonia mentum mitra crinemque madentem
subnixus, rapto potitur: nos munera templis
quippe tuis ferimus famamque fovemus inanem.'
Talibus orantem dictis arasque tenentem
audiit Omnipotens, oculosque ad moenia torsit
regia et oblitos famae melioris amantes.
Tum sic Mercurium alloquitur ac talia mandat:
'Vade age, nate, voca Zephyros et labere pennis,

Dardaniumque ducem, Tyria Carthagine qui nunc
exspectat fatisque datas non respicit urbes,
alloquere et celeres defer mea dicta per auras.
Non illum genetrix nobis pulcherrima talem
promisit Graiumque ideo bis vindicat armis;
sed fore qui gravidam imperiis belloque frementem
Italiam regeret, genus alto a sanguine Teucri
proderet, ac totum sub leges mitteret orbem.
Si nulla accendit tantarum gloria rerum,
nec super ipse sua molitur laude laborem,
Ascanione pater Romanas invidet arces?
quid struit? aut qua spe inimica in gente moratur,
nec prolem Ausoniam et Lavinia respicit arva?
naviget: haec summa est, hic nostri nuntius esto.'
  Dixerat. Ille Patris magni parere parabat
imperio: et primum pedibus talaria nectit
aurea, quae sublimem alis sive aequora supra
seu terram rapido pariter cum flamine portant.
Tum virgam capit: hac animas ille evocat Orco
pallentes, alias sub Tartara tristia mittit,
dat somnos adimitque, et lumina morte resignat.
Illa fretus agit ventos, et turbida tranat
nubila. Iamque volans apicem et latera ardua cernit
Atlantis duri, caelum qui vertice fulcit,
Atlantis, cinctum assidue cui nubibus atris
piniferum caput et vento pulsatur et imbri,
nix umeros infusa tegit, tum flumina mento
praecipitant senis, et glacie riget horrida barba.
Hic primum paribus nitens Cyllenius alis
constitit; hinc toto praeceps se corpore ad undas
misit, avi similis, quae circum litora, circum
piscosos scopulos humilis volat aequora iuxta.
Haud aliter terras inter caelumque volabat
litus harenosum Libyae ventosque secabat
materno veniens ab avo Cyllenia proles.
Ut primum alatis tetigit magalia plantis,
Aenean fundantem arces ac tecta novantem
conspicit. Atque illi stellatus iaspide fulva
ensis erat, Tyrioque ardebat murice laena

demissa ex umeris, dives quae munera Dido
fecerat et tenui telas discreverat auro.
Continuo invadit: 'Tu nunc Carthaginis altae
fundamenta locas, pulchramque uxorius urbem
exstruis, heu regni rerumque oblite tuarum?
Ipse deum tibi me claro demittit Olympo
regnator, caelum ac terras qui numine torquet,
ipse haec ferre iubet celeres mandata per auras:
quid struis? aut qua spe Libycis teris otia terris?
Si te nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum,
[nec super ipse tua moliris laude laborem,]
Ascanium surgentem et spes heredis Iuli
respice, cui regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus
debentur.' Tali Cyllenius ore locutus
mortales visus medio sermone reliquit,
et procul in tenuem ex oculis evanuit auram.
At vero Aeneas aspectu obmutuit amens,
arrectaeque horrore comae, et vox faucibus haesit.
Ardet abire fuga dulcesque relinquere terras,
attonitus tanto monitu imperioque deorum.
Heu quid agat? quo nunc reginam ambire furentem
audeat affatu? quae prima exordia sumat?
atque animum nunc huc celerem, nunc dividit illuc,
in partesque rapit varias perque omnia versat.
haec alternanti potior sententia visa est.
Mnesthea Sergestumque vocat fortemque Serestum,
classem aptent taciti sociosque ad litora cogant,
arma parent et, quae rebus sit causa novandis,
dissimulent; sese interea, quando optima Dido
nesciat et tantos rumpi non speret amores,
temptaturum aditus et quae mollissima fandi
tempora, quis rebus dexter modus. Ocius omnes
imperio laeti parent ac iussa facessunt.
At regina dolos (quis fallere possit amantem?)
praesensit motusque excepit prima futuros,
omnia tuta timens. Eadem impia Fama furenti
detulit armari classem cursumque parari.
Saevit inops animi totamque incensa per urbem
bacchatur, qualis commotis excita sacris

Thyias, ubi audito stimulant trieterica Baccho
orgia nocturnusque vocat clamore Cithaeron.
Tandem his Aenean compellat vocibus ultro:
'Dissimulare etiam sperasti, perfide, tantum
posse nefas tacitusque mea decedere terra?
nec te noster amor nec te data dextera quondam
nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido?
quin etiam hiberno moliris sidere classem,
et mediis properas Aquilonibus ire per altum,
crudelis? Quid? si non arva aliena domosque
ignotas peteres, et Troia antiqua maneret,
Troia per undosum peteretur classibus aequor?
Mene fugis? per ego has lacrimas dextramque tuam te,
(quando aliud mihi iam miserae nihil ipsa reliqui,)
per conubia nostra, per inceptos hymenaeos,
si bene quid de te merui, fuit aut tibi quicquam
dulce meum, miserere domus labentis et istam,
oro, si quis adhuc precibus locus, exue mentem.
Te propter Libycae gentes Nomadumque tyranni
odere, infensi Tyrii; te propter eundem
exstinctus pudor et, qua sola sidera adibam,
fama prior. Cui me moribundam deseris, hospes?
hoc solum nomen quoniam de coniuge restat.
Quid moror? an mea Pygmalion dum moenia frater
destruat, aut captam ducat Gaetulus Iarbas?
Saltem si qua mihi de te suscepta fuisset
ante fugam suboles, si quis mihi parvulus aula
luderet Aeneas, qui te tamen ore referret,
non equidem omnino capta ac deserta viderer.
Dixerat. Ille Iovis monitis immota tenebat
lumina et obnixus curam sub corde premebat.
Tandem pauca refert: 'Ego te quae plurima fando
enumerare vales numquam, regina, negabo
promeritam, nec me meminisse pigebit Elissae,
dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos regit artus.
Pro re pauca loquar. Neque ego hanc abscondere furto
speravi (ne finge) fugam, nec coniugis umquam
praetendi taedas aut haec in foedera veni.
Me si fata meis paterentur ducere vitam

auspiciis et sponte mea componere curas,
urbem Troianam primum dulcesque meorum
reliquias colerem, Priami tecta alta manerent,
et recidiva manu posuissem Pergama victis.
Sed nunc Italiam magnam Gryneus Apollo,
Italiam Lyciae iussere capessere sortes;
hic amor, haec patria est. Si te Carthaginis arces
Phoenissam Libycaeque aspectus detinet urbis,
quae tandem Ausonia Teucros considere terra
invidia est? Et nos fas extera quaerere regna.
Me patris Anchisae, quotiens umentibus umbris
nox operit terras, quotiens astra ignea surgunt,
admonet in somnis et turbida terret imago,
me puer Ascanius capitisque iniuria cari,
quem regno Hesperiae fraudo et fatalibus arvis.
Nunc etiam interpres divum Iove missus ab ipso,
(testor utrumque caput) celeres mandata per auras
detulit; ipse deum manifesto in lumine vidi
intrantem muros, vocemque his auribus hausi.
Desine meque tuis incendere teque querellis:
Italiam non sponte sequor.'
 Talia dicentem iamdudum aversa tuetur
huc illuc volvens oculos, totumque pererrat
luminibus tacitis, et sic accensa profatur:
'Nec tibi diva parens, generis nec Dardanus auctor,
perfide, sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens
Caucasus Hyrcanaeque admorunt ubera tigres.
Nam quid dissimulo aut quae me ad maiora reservo?
num fletu ingemuit nostro? num lumina flexit?
num lacrimas victus dedit aut miseratus amantem est?
quae quibus anteferam? iam iam nec maxima Iuno
nec Saturnius haec oculis Pater aspicit aequis.
Nusquam tuta fides. Eiectum litore, egentem
excepi et regni demens in parte locavi;
amissam classem, socios a morte reduxi:
heu furiis incensa feror! nunc augur Apollo,
nunc Lyciae sortes, nunc et Iove missus ab ipso
interpres divum fert horrida iussa per auras.
Scilicet is superis labor est, ea cura quietos

sollicitat. Neque te teneo neque dicta refello:
i, sequere Italiam ventis, pete regna per undas.
Spero equidem mediis, si quid pia numina possunt,
supplicia hausurum scopulis et nomine Dido
saepe vocaturum. Sequar atris ignibus absens,
et, cum frigida mors anima seduxerit artus,
omnibus umbra locis adero. Dabis, improbe, poenas.
Audiam, et haec manes veniet mihi fama sub imos.'
His medium dictis sermonem abrumpit et auras
aegra fugit seque ex oculis avertit et aufert,
linquens multa metu cunctantem et multa parantem
dicere. Suscipiunt famulae collapsaque membra
marmoreo referunt thalamo stratisque reponunt.
At pius Aeneas, quamquam lenire dolentem
solando cupit et dictis avertere curas,
multa gemens magnoque animum labefactus amore,
iussa tamen divum exsequitur classemque revisit.
Tum vero Teucri incumbunt et litore celsas
deducunt toto naves. Natat uncta carina,
frondentesque ferunt remos et robora silvis
infabricata fugae studio.
Migrantes cernas totaque ex urbe ruentes.
Ac velut ingentem formicae farris acervum
cum populant hiemis memores tectoque reponunt,
it nigrum campis agmen praedamque per herbas
convectant calle angusto, pars grandia trudunt
obnixae frumenta umeris, pars agmina cogunt
castigantque moras, opere omnis semita fervet.
Quis tibi tum, Dido, cernenti talia sensus,
quosve dabas gemitus, cum litora fervere late
prospiceres arce ex summa, totumque videres
misceri ante oculos tantis clamoribus aequor!
Improbe Amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis?
Ire iterum in lacrimas, iterum temptare precando
cogitur et supplex animos summittere amori,
ne quid inexpertum frustra moritura relinquat.
'Anna, vides toto properari litore: circum
undique convenere; vocat iam carbasus auras,
puppibus et laeti nautae imposuere coronas.

Hunc ego si potui tantum sperare dolorem,
et perferre, soror, potero. Miserae hoc tamen unum
exsequere, Anna, mihi; solam nam perfidus ille
te colere, arcanos etiam tibi credere sensus;
sola viri molles aditus et tempora noras.
I, soror, atque hostem supplex affare superbum.
Non ego cum Danais Troianam exscindere gentem
Aulide iuravi classemve ad Pergama misi,
nec patris Anchisae cineres manesve revelli,
cur mea dicta neget duras demittere in aures.
Quo ruit? extremum hoc miserae det munus amanti:
exspectet facilemque fugam ventosque ferentes.
Non iam coniugium antiquum, quod prodidit, oro,
nec pulchro ut Latio careat regnumque relinquat;
tempus inane peto, requiem spatiumque furori,
dum mea me victam doceat fortuna dolere.
Extremam hanc oro veniam (miserere sororis),
quam mihi cum dederis, cumulatam morte remittam.'
  Talibus orabat, talesque miserrima fletus
fertque refertque soror. Sed nullis ille movetur
fletibus, aut voces ullas tractabilis audit:
fata obstant, placidasque viri deus obstruit aures.
Ac velut annoso validam cum robore quercum
Alpini Boreae nunc hinc nunc flatibus illinc
eruere inter se certant; it stridor, et altae
consternunt terram concusso stipite frondes;
ipsa haeret scopulis et quantum vertice ad auras
aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit:
haud secus assiduis hinc atque hinc vocibus heros
tunditur et magno persentit pectore curas,
mens immota manet; lacrimae volvuntur inanes.
  Tum vero infelix fatis exterrita Dido
mortem orat; taedet caeli convexa tueri.
Quo magis inceptum peragat lucemque relinquat,
vidit, turicremis cum dona imponeret aris
(horrendum dictu), latices nigrescere sacros
fusaque in obscenum se vertere vina cruorem.
Hoc visum nulli, non ipsi effata sorori.
Praeterea fuit in tectis de marmore templum

coniugis antiqui, miro quod honore colebat,
velleribus niveis et festa fronde revinctum:
hinc exaudiri voces et verba vocantis
visa viri, nox cum terras obscura teneret,
solaque culminibus ferali carmine bubo
saepe queri et longas in fletum ducere voces.
Multaque praeterea vatum praedicta priorum
terribili monitu horrificant. Agit ipse furentem
in somnis ferus Aeneas; semperque relinqui
sola sibi, semper longam incomitata videtur
ire viam et Tyrios deserta quaerere terra:
Eumenidum veluti demens videt agmina Pentheus
et solem geminum et duplices se ostendere Thebas,
aut Agamemnonius scaenis agitatus Orestes
armatam facibus matrem et serpentibus atris
cum fugit, ultricesque sedent in limine Dirae.
  Ergo ubi concepit furias evicta dolore
decrevitque mori, tempus secum ipsa modumque
exigit et maestam dictis aggressa sororem
consilium vultu tegit ac spem fronte serenat:
'Inveni, germana, viam (gratare sorori),
quae mihi reddat eum vel eo me solvat amantem.
Oceani finem iuxta solemque cadentem
ultimus Aethiopum locus est, ubi maximus Atlas
axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum:
hinc mihi Massylae gentis monstrata sacerdos,
Hesperidum templi custos epulasque draconi
quae dabat et sacros servabat in arbore ramos,
spargens umida mella soporiferumque papaver.
Haec se carminibus promittit solvere mentes
quas velit, ast aliis duras immittere curas,
sistere aquam fluviis et vertere sidera retro;
nocturnosque movet manes: mugire videbis
sub pedibus terram et descendere montibus ornos.
Testor, cara, deos et te, germana, tuumque
dulce caput, magicas invitam accingier artes.
Tu secreta pyram tecto interiore sub auras
erige, et arma viri, thalamo quae fixa reliquit
impius, exuviasque omnes lectumque iugalem,

quo perii, superimponant: abolere nefandi
cuncta viri monimenta iuvat, monstratque sacerdos.'
Haec effata silet; pallor simul occupat ora.
Non tamen Anna novis praetexere funera sacris
germanam credit, nec tantos mente furores
concipit, aut graviora timet quam morte Sychaei.
Ergo iussa parat.
  At regina, pyra penetrali in sede sub auras
erecta ingenti taedis atque ilice secta,
intenditque locum sertis et fronde coronat
funerea; super exuvias ensemque relictum
effigiemque toro locat, haud ignara futuri.
Stant arae circum, et crines effusa sacerdos
ter centum tonat ore deos, Erebumque Chaosque
tergeminamque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianae.
Sparserat et latices simulatos fontis Averni,
falcibus et messae ad lunam quaeruntur aënis
pubentes herbae nigri cum lacte veneni;
quaeritur et nascentis equi de fronte revulsus
et matri praereptus amor.
Ipsa mola manibusque piis altaria iuxta,
unum exuta pedem vinclis, in veste recincta,
testatur moritura deos et conscia fati
sidera; tum, si quod non aequo foedere amantes
curae numen habet iustumque memorque, precatur.
  Nox erat, et placidum carpebant fessa soporem
corpora per terras, silvaeque et saeva quierant
aequora, cum medio volvuntur sidera lapsu,
cum tacet omnis ager, pecudes pictaeque volucres,
quaeque lacus late liquidos quaeque aspera dumis
rura tenent, somno positae sub nocte silenti
[lenibant curas, et corda oblita laborum].
At non infelix animi Phoenissa, neque umquam
solvitur in somnos oculisve aut pectore noctem
accipit: ingeminant curae, rursusque resurgens
saevit amor, magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu.
Sic adeo insistit secumque ita corde volutat:
'En quid ago? rursusne procos irrisa priores
experiar, Nomadumque petam conubia supplex,

quos ego sim totiens iam dedignata maritos?
Iliacas igitur classes atque ultima Teucrum
iussa sequar? quiane auxilio iuvat ante levatos
et bene apud memores veteris stat gratia facti?
quis me autem, fac velle, sinet ratibusve superbis
invisam accipiet? nescis heu, perdita, necdum
Laomedonteae sentis periuria gentis?
Quid tum? sola fuga nautas comitabor ovantes?
an Tyriis omnique manu stipata meorum
inferar et, quos Sidonia vix urbe revelli,
rursus agam pelago et ventis dare vela iubebo?
Quin morere, ut merita es, ferroque averte dolorem.
Tu lacrimis evicta meis, tu prima furentem,
o germana, malis oneras, atque obiicis hosti.
Non licuit thalami expertem sine crimine vitam
degere, more ferae, tales nec tangere curas!
non servata fides cineri promissa Sychaei!'
Tantos illa suo rumpebat pectore questus.
  Aeneas celsa in puppi, iam certus eundi,
carpebat somnos rebus iam rite paratis.
Huic se forma dei vultu redeuntis eodem
obtulit in somnis rursusque ita visa monere est,
omnia Mercurio similis, vocemque coloremque
et crines flavos et membra decora iuventa:
'Nate dea, potes hoc sub casu ducere somnos,
nec quae te circum stent deinde pericula cernis,
demens, nec zephyros audis spirare secundos?
Illa dolos dirumque nefas in pectore versat,
certa mori, variosque irarum concitat aestus.
Non fugis hinc praeceps, dum praecipitare potestas?
Iam mare turbari trabibus saevasque videbis
collucere faces, iam fervere litora flammis,
si te his attigerit terris Aurora morantem.
Eia age, rumpe moras. Varium et mutabile semper
femina.' Sic fatus nocti se immiscuit atrae.
  Tum vero Aeneas subitis exterritus umbris
corripit e somno corpus sociosque fatigat:
'Praecipites vigilate, viri, et considite transtris;
solvite vela citi. Deus aethere missus ab alto

festinare fugam tortosque incidere funes
ecce iterum instimulat. Sequimur te, sancte deorum,
quisquis es, imperioque iterum paremus ovantes.
Adsis o placidusque iuves et sidera caelo
dextra feras.' Dixit, vaginaque eripit ensem
fulmineum strictoque ferit retinacula ferro.
Idem omnes simul ardor habet, rapiuntque ruuntque:
litora deseruere, latet sub classibus aequor,
annixi torquent spumas et caerula verrunt.
  Et iam prima novo spargebat lumine terras
Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile.
Regina e speculis ut primam albescere lucem
vidit et aequatis classem procedere velis,
litoraque et vacuos sensit sine remige portus,
terque quaterque manu pectus percussa decorum
flaventesque abscissa comas 'Pro Iuppiter! ibit
hic' ait 'et nostris illuserit advena regnis?
Non arma expedient totaque ex urbe sequentur,
deripientque rates alii navalibus? Ite,
ferte citi flammas, date tela, impellite remos.
Quid loquor, aut ubi sum? quae mentem insania mutat,
infelix Dido? nunc te facta impia tangunt?
Tum decuit, cum sceptra dabas. En dextra fidesque,
quem secum patrios aiunt portare Penates,
quem subiisse umeris confectum aetate parentem!
Non potui abreptum divellere corpus et undis
spargere, non socios, non ipsum absumere ferro
Ascanium patriisque epulandum ponere mensis?
Verum anceps pugnae fuerat fortuna. Fuisset:
quem metui moritura? Faces in castra tulissem
implessemque foros flammis natumque patremque
cum genere exstinxem, memet super ipsa dedissem.
Sol, qui terrarum flammis opera omnia lustras,
tuque harum interpres curarum et conscia Iuno,
nocturnisque Hecate triviis ululata per urbes,
et Dirae ultrices et di morientis Elissae,
accipite haec, meritumque malis advertite numen,
et nostras audite preces. Si tangere portus
infandum caput ac terris adnare necesse est,

et sic fata Iovis poscunt, hic terminus haeret:
at bello audacis populi vexatus et armis,
finibus extorris, complexu avulsus Iuli
auxilium imploret videatque indigna suorum
funera; nec, cum se sub leges pacis iniquae
tradiderit, regno aut optata luce fruatur,
sed cadat ante diem mediaque inhumatus harena.
Haec precor, hanc vocem extremam cum sanguine fundo.
Tum vos, o Tyrii, stirpem et genus omne futurum
exercete odiis, cinerique haec mittite nostro
munera. Nullus amor populis nec foedera sunto.
Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor,
qui face Dardanios ferroque sequare colonos,
nunc, olim, quocumque dabunt se tempore vires.
Litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas
imprecor, arma armis: pugnent ipsique nepotesque.'
  Haec ait, et partes animum versabat in omnes,
invisam quaerens quam primum abrumpere lucem.
Tum breviter Barcen nutricem affata Sychaei,
namque suam patria antiqua cinis ater habebat:
'Annam cara mihi nutrix huc siste sororem:
dic corpus properet fluviali spargere lympha
et pecudes secum et monstrata piacula ducat.
Sic veniat, tuque ipsa pia tege tempora vitta.
Sacra Iovi Stygio, quae rite incepta paravi,
perficere est animus finemque imponere curis,
Dardaniique rogum capitis permittere flammae.'
Sic ait. Illa gradum studio celerabat anili.
At trepida et coeptis immanibus effera Dido,
sanguineam volvens aciem maculisque trementes
interfusa genas et pallida morte futura,
interiora domus irrumpit limina et altos
conscendit furibunda rogos ensemque recludit
Dardanium, non hos quaesitum munus in usus.
Hic, postquam Iliacas vestes notumque cubile
conspexit, paulum lacrimis et mente morata
incubuitque toro dixitque novissima verba:
'Dulces exuviae, dum fata deusque sinebat,
accipite hanc animam meque his exsolvite curis.

Vixi et quem dederat cursum Fortuna peregi,
et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago.
Urbem praeclaram statui, mea moenia vidi,
ulta virum poenas inimico a fratre recepi,
felix, heu nimium felix, si litora tantum
numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae.'
Dixit, et os impressa toro 'Moriemur inultae,
sed moriamur,' ait, 'sic sic iuvat ire sub umbras.
Hauriat hunc oculis ignem crudelis ab alto
Dardanus, et nostrae secum ferat omina mortis.'
Dixerat, atque illam media inter talia ferro
collapsam aspiciunt comites ensemque cruore
spumantem sparsasque manus. It clamor ad alta
atria; concussam bacchatur Fama per urbem.
Lamentis gemituque et femineo ululatu
tecta fremunt, resonat magnis plangoribus aether,
non aliter quam si immissis ruat hostibus omnis
Carthago aut antiqua Tyros, flammaeque furentes
culmina perque hominum volvantur perque deorum.
Audiit exanimis trepidoque exterrita cursu,
unguibus ora soror foedans et pectora pugnis
per medios ruit, ac morientem nomine clamat:
'Hoc illud, germana, fuit? me fraude petebas?
hoc rogus iste mihi, hoc ignes araeque parabant?
quid primum deserta querar? comitemne sororem
sprevisti moriens? eadem me ad fata vocasses,
idem ambas ferro dolor atque eadem hora tulisset.
His etiam struxi manibus patriosque vocavi
voce deos, sic te ut posita crudelis abessem?
Exstinxti te meque, soror, populumque patresque
Sidonios urbemque tuam. Date vulnera lymphis
abluam et, extremus si quis super halitus errat,
ore legam.' Sic fata gradus evaserat altos,
semianimemque sinu germanam amplexa fovebat
cum gemitu, atque atros siccabat veste cruores.
Illa graves oculos conata attollere rursus
deficit; infixum stridit sub pectore vulnus.
Ter sese attollens cubitoque annixa levavit,
ter revoluta toro est oculisque errantibus alto

quaesivit caelo lucem ingemuitque reperta.
  Tum Iuno omnipotens longum miserata dolorem
difficilesque obitus Irim demisit Olympo,
quae luctantem animam nexosque resolveret artus.
Nam quia nec fato merita nec morte peribat,
sed misera ante diem subitoque accensa furore,
nondum illi flavum Proserpina vertice crinem
abstulerat Stygioque caput damnaverat Orco.
Ergo Iris croceis per caelum roscida pennis,
mille trahens varios adverso sole colores,
devolat, et supra caput astitit. ‘Hunc ego Diti
sacrum iussa fero, teque isto corpore solvo:’
sic ait, et dextra crinem secat: omnis et una
dilapsus calor, atque in ventos vita recessit.

AENEIS.

LIBER QUINTUS.

Interea medium Aeneas iam classe tenebat
certus iter fluctusque atros Aquilone secabat,
moenia respiciens, quae iam infelicis Elissae
collucent flammis. Quae tantum accenderit ignem
causa latet; duri magno sed amore dolores
polluto, notumque, furens quid femina possit,
triste per augurium Teucrorum pectora ducunt.
Ut pelagus tenuere rates nec iam amplius ulla
occurrit tellus, maria undique et undique caelum,
olli caeruleus supra caput astitit imber
noctem hiememque ferens, et inhorruit unda tenebris.
Ipse gubernator puppi Palinurus ab alta
'Heu quianam tanti cinxerunt aethera nimbi?
quidve, pater Neptune, paras?' Sic deinde locutus
colligere arma iubet validisque incumbere remis,
obliquatque sinus in ventum ac talia fatur:
'Magnanime Aenea, non, si mihi Iuppiter auctor
spondeat, hoc sperem Italiam contingere caelo.
Mutati transversa fremunt et vespere ab atro
consurgunt venti, atque in nubem cogitur aër.
Nec nos obniti contra nec tendere tantum
sufficimus. Superat quoniam Fortuna, sequamur,
quoque vocat, vertamus iter. Nec litora longe
fida reor fraterna Erycis portusque Sicanos,
si modo rite memor servata remetior astra.'
Tum pius Aeneas: 'Equidem sic poscere ventos
iamdudum et frustra cerno te tendere contra.
Flecte viam velis. An sit mihi gratior ulla,

quove magis fessas optem demittere naves,
quam quae Dardanium tellus mihi servat Acesten
et patris Anchisae gremio complectitur ossa?'
Haec ubi dicta, petunt portus, et vela secundi
intendunt zephyri: fertur cita gurgite classis,
et tandem laeti notae advertuntur harenae.
At procul excelso miratus vertice montis
adventum sociasque rates occurrit Acestes,
horridus in iaculis et pelle Libystidis ursae,
Troïa Criniso conceptum flumine mater
quem genuit. Veterum non immemor ille parentum
gratatur reduces et gaza laetus agresti
excipit, ac fessos opibus solatur amicis.
Postera cum primo stellas Oriente fugarat
clara dies, socios in coetum litore ab omni
advocat Aeneas tumulique ex aggere fatur:
'Dardanidae magni, genus alto a sanguine divum,
annuus exactis completur mensibus orbis,
ex quo reliquias divinique ossa parentis
condidimus terra maestasque sacravimus aras.
Iamque dies, nisi fallor, adest, quem semper acerbum,
semper honoratum (sic di voluistis) habebo.
Hunc ego Gaetulis agerem si Syrtibus exsul
Argolicove mari deprensus et urbe Mycenae,
annua vota tamen sollemnesque ordine pompas
exsequerer strueremque suis altaria donis.
Nunc ultro ad cineres ipsius et ossa parentis
(haud equidem sine mente reor, sine numine divum)
adsumus, et portus delati intramus amicos.
Ergo agite et laetum cuncti celebremus honorem:
poscamus ventos, atque haec me sacra quotannis
urbe velit posita templis sibi ferre dicatis.
Bina boum vobis Troia generatus Acestes
dat numero capita in naves; adhibete Penates
et patrios epulis et quos colit hospes Acestes.
Praeterea, si nona diem mortalibus almum
Aurora extulerit radiisque retexerit orbem,
prima citae Teucris ponam certamina classis;
quique pedum cursu valet, et qui viribus audax

aut iaculo incedit melior levibusque sagittis,
seu crudo fidit pugnam committere caestu,
cuncti adsint meritaeque exspectent praemia palmae.
Ore favete omnes et cingite tempora ramis.'
Sic fatus velat materna tempora myrto.
Hoc Helymus facit, hoc aevi maturus Acestes,
hoc puer Ascanius, sequitur quos cetera pubes.
Ille e concilio multis cum millibus ibat
ad tumulum, magna medius comitante caterva.
Hic duo rite mero libans carchesia Baccho
fundit humi, duo lacte novo, duo sanguine sacro,
purpureosque iacit flores ac talia fatur:
'Salve, sancte parens, iterum: salvete, recepti
nequiquam cineres, animaeque umbraeque paternae.
Non licuit fines Italos fataliaque arva
nec tecum Ausonium, quicumque est, quaerere Thybrim.'
Dixerat haec, adytis cum lubricus anguis ab imis
septem ingens gyros, septena volumina traxit,
amplexus placide tumulum lapsusque per aras,
caeruleae cui terga notae maculosus et auro
squamam incendebat fulgor, ceu nubibus arcus
mille iacit varios adverso sole colores.
Obstupuit visu Aeneas. Ille agmine longo
tandem inter pateras et levia pocula serpens
libavitque dapes rursusque innoxius imo
successit tumulo et depasta altaria liquit.
Hoc magis inceptos genitori instaurat honores,
incertus, geniumne loci famulumne parentis
esse putet: caedit binas de more bidentes
totque sues, totidem nigrantes terga iuvencos,
vinaque fundebat pateris animamque vocabat
Anchisae magni manesque Acheronte remissos.
Nec non et socii, quae cuique est copia, laeti
dona ferunt, onerant aras mactantque iuvencos,
ordine aëna locant alii fusique per herbam
subiiciunt veribus prunas et viscera torrent.
Exspectata dies aderat nonamque serena
Auroram Phaethontis equi iam luce vehebant,
famaque finitimos et clari nomen Acestae

excierat: laeto complerant litora coetu
visuri Aeneadas, pars et certare parati.
Munera principio ante oculos circoque locantur
in medio, sacri tripodes viridesque coronae,
et palmae pretium victoribus, armaque et ostro
perfusae vestes, argenti aurique talenta;
et tuba commissos medio canit aggere ludos.
Prima pares ineunt gravibus certamina remis
quattuor ex omni delectae classe carinae.
Velocem Mnestheus agit acri remige Pristim,
mox Italus Mnestheus, genus a quo nomine Memmi,
ingentemque Gyas ingenti mole Chimaeram,
urbis opus, triplici pubes quam Dardana versu
impellunt, terno consurgunt ordine remi;
Sergestusque, domus tenet a quo Sergia nomen,
Centauro invehitur magna, Scyllaque Cloanthus
caerulea, genus unde tibi, Romane Cluenti.
  Est procul in pelago saxum spumantia contra
litora, quod tumidis submersum tunditur olim
fluctibus, hiberni condunt ubi sidera Cori;
tranquillo silet immotaque attollitur unda
campus et apricis statio gratissima mergis.
Hic viridem Aeneas frondenti ex ilice metam
constituit signum nautis pater, unde reverti
scirent et longos ubi circumflectere cursus.
Tum loca sorte legunt, ipsique in puppibus auro
ductores longe effulgent ostroque decori;
cetera populea velatur fronde iuventus
nudatosque umeros oleo perfusa nitescit.
Considunt transtris, intentaque bracchia remis;
intenti exspectant signum, exsultantiaque haurit
corda pavor pulsans laudumque arrecta cupido.
Inde ubi clara dedit sonitum tuba, finibus omnes,
haud mora, prosiluere suis: ferit aethera clamor
nauticus, adductis spumant freta versa lacertis.
Infindunt pariter sulcos, totumque dehiscit
convulsum remis rostrisque tridentibus aequor.
Non tam praecipites biiugo certamine campum
corripuere ruuntque effusi carcere currus,

nec sic immissis aurigae undantia lora
concussere iugis pronique in verbera pendent.
Tum plausu fremituque virum studiisque faventum
consonat omne nemus, vocemque inclusa volutant
litora, pulsati colles clamore resultant.
Effugit ante alios primisque elabitur undis
turbam inter fremitumque Gyas; quem deinde Cloanthus
consequitur, melior remis, sed pondere pinus
tarda tenet. Post hos aequo discrimine Pristis
Centaurusque locum tendunt superare priorem;
et nunc Pristis habet, nunc victam praeterit ingens
Centaurus, nunc una ambae iunctisque feruntur
frontibus et longa sulcant vada salsa carina.
Iamque propinquabant scopulo metamque tenebant,
cum princeps medioque Gyas in gurgite victor
rectorem navis compellat voce Menoeten:
'Quo tantum mihi dexter abis? Huc dirige gressum;
litus ama et laevas stringat sine palmula cautes;
altum alii teneant.' Dixit, sed caeca Menoetes
saxa timens proram pelagi detorquet ad undas.
'Quo diversus abis?' iterum 'pete saxa, Menoete,'
cum clamore Gyas revocabat: et ecce Cloanthum
respicit instantem tergo et propiora tenentem.
Ille inter navemque Gyae scopulosque sonantes
radit iter laevum interior, subitoque priorem
praeterit et metis tenet aequora tuta relictis.
Tum vero exarsit iuveni dolor ossibus ingens
nec lacrimis caruere genae, segnemque Menoeten
oblitus decorisque sui sociumque salutis
in mare praecipitem puppi deturbat ab alta:
ipse gubernaclo rector subit, ipse magister
hortaturque viros clavumque ad litora torquet.
At gravis ut fundo vix tandem redditus imo est
iam senior madidaque fluens in veste Menoetes,
summa petit scopuli siccaque in rupe resedit.
Illum et labentem Teucri et risere natantem
et salsos rident revomentem pectore fluctus.
Hic laeta extremis spes est accensa duobus,
Sergesto Mnestheique, Gyan superare morantem.

Sergestus capit ante locum scopuloque propinquat,
nec tota tamen ille prior praeeunte carina:
parte prior, partim rostro premit aemula Pristis.
At media socios incedens nave per ipsos
hortatur Mnestheus: 'Nunc nunc insurgite remis,
Hectorei socii, Troiae quos sorte suprema
delegi comites; nunc illas promite vires,
nunc animos, quibus in Gaetulis Syrtibus usi
Ionioque mari Maleaeque sequacibus undis.
Non iam prima peto Mnestheus neque vincere certo,
quamquam o!—sed superent, quibus hoc, Neptune, dedisti:
extremos pudeat rediisse. Hoc vincite, cives,
et prohibete nefas.' Olli certamine summo
procumbunt: vastis tremit ictibus aerea puppis
subtrahiturque solum, tum creber anhelitus artus
aridaque ora quatit, sudor fluit undique rivis.
Attulit ipse viris optatum casus honorem.
Namque furens animi dum proram ad saxa suburget
interior spatioque subit Sergestus iniquo,
infelix saxis in procurrentibus haesit.
Concussae cautes, et acuto in murice remi
obnixi crepuere, illisaque prora pependit.
Consurgunt nautae et magno clamore morantur,
ferratasque trudes et acuta cuspide contos
expediunt fractosque legunt in gurgite remos.
At laetus Mnestheus successuque acrior ipso
agmine remorum celeri ventisque vocatis
prona petit maria et pelago decurrit aperto.
Qualis spelunca subito commota columba,
cui domus et dulces latebroso in pumice nidi,
fertur in arva volans plausumque exterrita pennis
dat tecto ingentem, mox aëre lapsa quieto
radit iter liquidum celeres neque commovet alas:
sic Mnestheus, sic ipsa fuga secat ultima Pristis
aequora, sic illam fert impetus ipse volantem.
Et primum in scopulo luctantem deserit alto
Sergestum brevibusque vadis frustraque vocantem
auxilia et fractis discentem currere remis.
Inde Gyan ipsamque ingenti mole Chimaeram

consequitur: cedit, quoniam spoliata magistro est.
Solus iamque ipso superest in fine Cloanthus,
quem petit et summis annixus viribus urget.
Tum vero ingeminat clamor, cunctique sequentem
instigant studiis, resonatque fragoribus aether.
Hi proprium decus et partum indignantur honorem
ni teneant, vitamque volunt pro laude pacisci;
hos successus alit: possunt, quia posse videntur.
Et fors aequatis cepissent praemia rostris,
ni palmas ponto tendens utrasque Cloanthus
fudissetque preces divosque in vota vocasset.
'Di, quibus imperium est pelagi, quorum aequora curro,
vobis laetus ego hoc candentem in litore taurum
constituam ante aras, voti reus, extaque salsos
proiciam in fluctus et vina liquentia fundam.'
Dixit, eumque imis sub fluctibus audiit omnis
Nereidum Phorcique chorus Panopeaque virgo,
et pater ipse manu magna Portunus euntem
impulit: illa Noto citius volucrique sagitta
ad terram fugit et portu se condidit alto.
Tum satus Anchisa cunctis ex more vocatis
victorem magna praeconis voce Cloanthum
declarat viridique advelat tempora lauro,
muneraque in naves ternos optare iuvencos
vinaque et argenti magnum dat ferre talentum.
Ipsis praecipuos ductoribus addit honores:
victori chlamydem auratam, quam plurima circum
purpura Maeandro duplici Meliboea cucurrit,
intextusque puer frondosa regius Ida
veloces iaculo cervos cursuque fatigat,
acer, anhelanti similis, quem praepes ab Ida
sublimem pedibus rapuit Iovis armiger uncis:
longaevi palmas nequiquam ad sidera tendunt
custodes, saevitque canum latratus in auras.
At qui deinde locum tenuit virtute secundum,
levibus huic hamis consertam auroque trilicem
loricam, quam Demoleo detraxerat ipse
victor apud rapidum Simoenta sub Ilio alto,
donat habere viro, decus et tutamen in armis.

Vix illam famuli Phegeus Sagarisque ferebant
multiplicem conixi umeris; indutus at olim
Demoleos cursu palantes Troas agebat.
Tertia dona facit geminos ex aere lebetas
cymbiaque argento perfecta atque aspera signis.
Iamque adeo donati omnes opibusque superbi
puniceis ibant evincti tempora taenis,
cum saevo e scopulo multa vix arte revulsus,
amissis remis atque ordine debilis uno,
irrisam sine honore ratem Sergestus agebat.
Qualis saepe viae deprensus in aggere serpens,
aerea quem obliquum rota transiit aut gravis ictu
seminecem liquit saxo lacerumque viator;
nequiquam longos fugiens dat corpore tortus,
parte ferox ardensque oculis et sibila colla
arduus attollens, pars vulnere clauda retentat
nixantem nodis seque in sua membra plicantem:
tali remigio navis se tarda movebat;
vela facit tamen et plenis subit ostia velis.
Sergestum Aeneas promisso munere donat
servatam ob navem laetus sociosque reductos.
Olli serva datur, operum haud ignara Minervae,
Cressa genus, Pholoe, geminique sub ubere nati.
Hoc pius Aeneas misso certamine tendit
gramineum in campum, quem collibus undique curvis
cingebant silvae, mediaque in valle theatri
circus erat, quo se multis cum millibus heros
consessu medium tulit exstructoque resedit.
hic, qui forte velint rapido contendere cursu,
invitat pretiis animos, et praemia ponit.
Undique conveniunt Teucri mixtique Sicani,
Nisus et Euryalus primi,
Euryalus forma insignis viridique iuventa,
Nisus amore pio pueri; quos deinde secutus
regius egregia Priami de stirpe Diores;
hunc Salius simul et Patron, quorum alter Acarnan,
alter ab Arcadio Tegeaeae sanguine gentis;
tum duo Trinacrii iuvenes Helymus Panopesque,
assueti silvis, comites senioris Acestae;

multi praeterea, quos fama obscura recondit.
Aeneas quibus in mediis sic deinde locutus:
'Accipite haec animis laetasque advertite mentes.
nemo ex hoc numero mihi non donatus abibit.
Gnosia bina dabo levato lucida ferro
spicula caelatamque argento ferre bipennem:
omnibus hic erit unus honos. Tres praemia primi
accipient flavaque caput nectentur oliva.
Primus equum phaleris insignem victor habeto;
alter Amazoniam pharetram plenamque sagittis
Threiciis, lato quam circum amplectitur auro
balteus et tereti subnectit fibula gemma;
tertius Argolica hac galea contentus abito.'
Haec ubi dicta, locum capiunt signoque repente
corripiunt spatia audito limenque relinquunt,
effusi nimbo similes; simul ultima signant.
Primus abit longeque ante omnia corpora Nisus
emicat, et ventis et fulminis ocior alis;
proximus huic, longo sed proximus intervallo,
insequitur Salius; spatio post deinde relicto
tertius Euryalus;
Euryalumque Helymus sequitur; quo deinde sub ipso
ecce volat calcemque terit iam calce Diores
incumbens umero, spatia et si plura supersint,
transeat elapsus prior ambiguumve relinquat.
Iamque fere spatio extremo fessique sub ipsam
finem adventabant, levi cum sanguine Nisus
labitur infelix, caesis ut forte iuvencis
fusus humum viridesque super madefecerat herbas.
Hic iuvenis iam victor ovans vestigia presso
haud tenuit titubata solo, sed pronus in ipso
concidit immundoque fimo sacroque cruore,
non tamen Euryali, non ille oblitus amorum:
nam sese opposuit Salio per lubrica surgens,
ille autem spissa iacuit revolutus harena.
Emicat Euryalus, et munere victor amici
prima tenet, plausuque volat fremituque secundo.
Post Helymus subit, et nunc tertia palma Diores.
Hic totum caveae consessum ingentis et ora

prima patrum magnis Salius clamoribus implet,
ereptumque dolo reddi sibi poscit honorem.
Tutatur favor Euryalum lacrimaeque decorae,
gratior et pulchro veniens in corpore virtus.
Adiuvat et magna proclamat voce Diores,
qui subiit palmae frustraque ad praemia venit
ultima, si primi Salio reddantur honores.
Tum pater Aeneas 'Vestra' inquit 'munera vobis
certa manent, pueri, et palmam movet ordine nemo:
me liceat casus misereri insontis amici.'
Sic fatus tergum Gaetuli immane leonis
dat Salio, villis onerosum atque unguibus aureis.
Hic Nisus 'Si tanta' inquit 'sunt praemia victis
et te lapsorum miseret, quae munera Niso
digna dabis? primam merui qui laude coronam,
ni me, quae Salium, Fortuna inimica tulisset.'
Et simul his dictis faciem ostentabat et udo
turpia membra fimo. Risit pater optimus olli
et clipeum efferri iussit, Didymaonis artem,
Neptuni sacro Danais de poste refixum.
Hoc iuvenem egregium praestanti munere donat.
Post ubi confecti cursus, et dona peregit:
'Nunc, si cui virtus animusque in pectore praesens,
adsit et evinctis attollat bracchia palmis.'
Sic ait, et geminum pugnae proponit honorem,
victori velatum auro vittisque iuvencum,
ensem atque insignem galeam solatia victo.
Nec mora: continuo vastis cum viribus effert
ora Dares magnoque virum se murmure tollit,
solus qui Paridem solitus contendere contra,
idemque ad tumulum, quo maximus occubat Hector,
victorem Buten immani corpore, qui se
Bebrycia veniens Amyci de gente ferebat,
perculit et fulva moribundum extendit harena.
Talis prima Dares caput altum in proelia tollit,
ostenditque umeros latos alternaque iactat
bracchia protendens et verberat ictibus auras.
Quaeritur huic alius; nec quisquam ex agmine tanto
audet adire virum manibusque inducere caestus.

Ergo alacris cunctosque putans excedere palma
Aeneae stetit ante pedes, nec plura moratus
tum laeva taurum cornu tenet atque ita fatur:
'Nate dea, si nemo audet se credere pugnae,
quae finis standi? quo me decet usque teneri?
Ducere dona iube.' Cuncti simul ore fremebant
Dardanidae reddique viro promissa iubebant.
Hic gravis Entellum dictis castigat Acestes,
proximus ut viridante toro consederat herbae:
'Entelle heroum quondam fortissime frustra,
tantane tam patiens nullo certamine tolli
dona sines? ubi nunc nobis deus ille magister
nequiquam memoratus Eryx? ubi fama per omnem
Trinacriam et spolia illa tuis pendentia tectis?'
Ille sub haec: 'Non laudis amor nec gloria cessit
pulsa metu; sed enim gelidus tardante senecta
sanguis hebet, frigentque effetae in corpore vires.
Si mihi, quae quondam fuerat quaque improbus iste
exsultat fidens, si nunc foret illa iuventas,
haud equidem pretio inductus pulchroque iuvenco
venissem, nec dona moror.' Sic deinde locutus
in medium geminos immani pondere caestus
proiecit, quibus acer Eryx in proelia suetus
ferre manum duroque intendere bracchia tergo.
Obstupuere animi: tantorum ingentia septem
terga boum plumbo insuto ferroque rigebant.
Ante omnes stupet ipse Dares longeque recusat;
magnanimusque Anchisiades et pondus et ipsa
huc illuc vinclorum immensa volumina versat.
Tum senior tales referebat pectore voces:
'Quid, si quis caestus ipsius et Herculis arma
vidisset tristemque hoc ipso in litore pugnam?
Haec germanus Eryx quondam tuus arma gerebat;
(sanguine cernis adhuc sparsoque infecta cerebro;)
his magnum Alciden contra stetit, his ego suetus,
dum melior vires sanguis dabat, aemula necdum
temporibus geminis canebat sparsa senectus.
Sed si nostra Dares haec Troïus arma recusat,
idque pio sedet Aeneae, probat auctor Acestes,

aequemus pugnas. Erycis tibi terga remitto
(solve metus), et tu Troianos exue caestus.'
Haec fatus duplicem ex umeris reiecit amictum,
et magnos membrorum artus, magna ossa lacertosque
exuit atque ingens media consistit harena.
Tum satus Anchisa caestus pater extulit aequos,
et paribus palmas amborum innexuit armis.
Constitit in digitos extemplo arrectus uterque
bracchiaque ad superas interritus extulit auras.
Abduxere retro longe capita ardua ab ictu
immiscentque manus manibus, pugnamque lacessunt,
ille pedum melior motu fretusque iuventa,
hic membris et mole valens; sed tarda trementi
genua labant, vastos quatit aeger anhelitus artus.
Multa viri nequiquam inter se vulnera iactant,
multa cavo lateri ingeminant et pectore vastos
dant sonitus, erratque aures et tempora circum
crebra manus, duro crepitant sub vulnere malae.
Stat gravis Entellus, nisuque immotus eodem
corpore tela modo atque oculis vigilantibus exit.
Ille, velut celsam oppugnat qui molibus urbem,
aut montana sedet circum castella sub armis,
nunc hos, nunc illos aditus, omnemque pererrat
arte locum et variis assultibus irritus urget.
Ostendit dextram insurgens Entellus et alte
extulit: ille ictum venientem a vertice velox
praevidit celerique elapsus corpore cessit;
Entellus vires in ventum effudit, et ultro
ipse gravis graviterque ad terram pondere vasto
concidit, ut quondam cava concidit aut Erymantho
aut Ida in magna radicibus eruta pinus.
Consurgunt studiis Teucri et Trinacria pubes;
it clamor caelo, primusque accurrit Acestes
aequaevumque ab humo miserans attollit amicum.
At non tardatus casu neque territus heros
acrior ad pugnam redit ac vim suscitat ira.
Tum pudor incendit vires et conscia virtus;
praecipitemque Daren ardens agit aequore toto
nunc dextra ingeminans ictus, nunc ille sinistra.

Nec mora nec requies: quam multa grandine nimbi
culminibus crepitant, sic densis ictibus heros
creber utraque manu pulsat versatque Dareta.
Tum pater Aeneas procedere longius iras
et saevire animis Entellum haud passus acerbis,
sed finem imposuit pugnae fessumque Dareta
eripuit mulcens dictis, ac talia fatur:
'Infelix, quae tanta animum dementia cepit?
non vires alias conversaque numina sentis?
Cede deo.' Dixitque et proelia voce diremit.
Ast illum fidi aequales, genua aegra trahentem
iactantemque utroque caput crassumque cruorem
ore eiectantem mixtosque in sanguine dentes,
ducunt ad naves, galeamque ensemque vocati
accipiunt, palmam Entello taurumque relinquunt.
Hic victor, superans animis tauroque superbus
'Nate dea vosque haec' inquit 'cognoscite, Teucri,
et mihi quae fuerint iuvenali in corpore vires
et qua servetis revocatum a morte Dareta.'
Dixit, et adversi contra stetit ora iuvenci,
qui donum astabat pugnae, durosque reducta
libravit dextra media inter cornua caestus,
arduus, effractoque illisit in ossa cerebro:
sternitur exanimisque tremens procumbit humi bos.
Ille super tales effundit pectore voces:
'Hanc tibi, Eryx, meliorem animam pro morte Daretis
persolvo; hic victor caestus artemque repono.'
Protinus Aeneas celeri certare sagitta
invitat qui forte velint, et praemia dicit,
ingentique manu malum de nave Seresti
erigit et volucrem traiecto in fune columbam,
quo tendant ferrum, malo suspendit ab alto.
Convenere viri, deiectamque aerea sortem
accepit galea; et primus clamore secundo
Hyrtacidae ante omnes exit locus Hippocoontis:
quem modo navali Mnestheus certamine victor
consequitur, viridi Mnestheus evinctus oliva.
Tertius Eurytion, tuus o clarissime frater
Pandare, qui quondam, iussus confundere foedus,

in medios telum torsisti primus Achivos.
Extremus galeaque ima subsedit Acestes,
ausus et ipse manu iuvenum temptare laborem.
Tum validis flexos incurvant viribus arcus
pro se quisque viri et depromunt tela pharetris.
Primaque per caelum nervo stridente sagitta
Hyrtacidae iuvenis volucres diverberat auras;
et venit adversique infigitur arbore mali.
Intremuit malus timuitque exterrita pennis
ales, et ingenti sonuerunt omnia plausu.
Post acer Mnestheus adducto constitit arcu,
alta petens, pariterque oculos telumque tetendit.
Ast ipsam miserandus avem contingere ferro
non valuit: nodos et vincula linea rupit,
queis innexa pedem malo pendebat ab alto;
illa notos atque alta volans in nubila fugit.
Tum rapidus, iamdudum arcu contenta parato
tela tenens, fratrem Eurytion in vota vocavit,
iam vacuo laetam caelo speculatus, et alis
plaudentem nigra figit sub nube columbam.
Decidit exanimis vitamque reliquit in astris
aetheriis fixamque refert delapsa sagittam.
Amissa solus palma superabat Acestes;
qui tamen aërias telum contendit in auras,
ostentans artemque pater arcumque sonantem.
Hic oculis subitum obiicitur magnoque futurum
augurio monstrum: docuit post exitus ingens,
seraque terrifici cecinerunt omina vates.
Namque volans liquidis in nubibus arsit harundo,
signavitque viam flammis tenuesque recessit
consumpta in ventos, caelo ceu saepe refixa
transcurrunt crinemque volantia sidera ducunt.
Attonitis haesere animis superosque precati
Trinacrii Teucrique viri, nec maximus omen
abnuit Aeneas, sed laetum amplexus Acesten
muneribus cumulat magnis ac talia fatur:
'Sume, pater; nam te voluit rex magnus Olympi
talibus auspiciis exsortem ducere honores.
Ipsius Anchisae longaevi hoc munus habebis,

cratera impressum signis, quem Thracius olim
Anchisae genitori in magno munere Cisseus
ferre sui dederat monimentum et pignus amoris.'
Sic fatus cingit viridanti tempora lauro
et primum ante omnes victorem appellat Acesten.
Nec bonus Eurytion praelato invidit honori,
quamvis solus avem caelo deiecit ab alto.
Proximus ingreditur donis qui vincula rupit,
extremus volucri qui fixit harundine malum.
  At pater Aeneas nondum certamine misso
custodem ad sese comitemque impubis Iuli
Epytiden vocat, et fidam sic fatur ad aurem:
'Vade age et Ascanio, si iam puerile paratum
agmen habet secum cursusque instruxit equorum,
ducat avo turmas et sese ostendat in armis
dic' ait. Ipse omnem longo discedere circo
infusum populum et campos iubet esse patentes.
Incedunt pueri, pariterque ante ora parentum
frenatis lucent in equis, quos omnis euntes
Trinacriae mirata fremit Troiaeque iuventus.
Omnibus in morem tonsa coma pressa corona;
cornea bina ferunt praefixa hastilia ferro,
pars leves umero pharetras; it pectore summo
flexilis obtorti per collum circulus auri.
Tres equitum numero turmae ternique vagantur
ductores; pueri bis seni quemque secuti
agmine partito fulgent paribusque magistris.
Una acies iuvenum, ducit quam parvus ovantem
nomen avi referens Priamus, tua cara, Polite,
progenies, auctura Italos; quem Thracius albis
portat equus bicolor maculis, vestigia primi
alba pedis frontemque ostentans arduus albam.
Alter Atys, genus unde Atii duxere Latini,
parvus Atys pueroque puer dilectus Iulo.
Extremus formaque ante omnes pulcher Iulus
Sidonio est invectus equo, quem candida Dido
esse sui dederat monimentum et pignus amoris.
Cetera Trinacriis pubes senioris Acestae
fertur equis.

Excipiunt plausu pavidos gaudentque tuentes
Dardanidae veterumque agnoscunt ora parentum.
Postquam omnem laeti consessum oculosque suorum
lustravere in equis, signum clamore paratis
Epytides longe dedit insonuitque flagello.
Olli discurrere pares, atque agmina terni
diductis solvere choris, rursusque vocati
convertere vias infestaque tela tulere.
Inde alios ineunt cursus aliosque recursus
adversi spatiis, alternosque orbibus orbes
impediunt, pugnaeque cient simulacra sub armis;
et nunc terga fuga nudant, nunc spicula vertunt
infensi, facta pariter nunc pace feruntur.
Ut quondam Creta fertur Labyrinthus in alta
parietibus textum caecis iter ancipitemque
mille viis habuisse dolum, qua signa sequendi
falleret indeprensus et irremeabilis error:
haud alio Teucrum nati vestigia cursu
impediunt, texuntque fugas et proelia ludo,
delphinum similes, qui per maria umida nando
Carpathium Libycumque secant [luduntque per undas].
Hunc morem cursus atque haec certamina primus
Ascanius, Longam muris cum cingeret Albam,
rettulit et priscos docuit celebrare Latinos,
quo puer ipse modo, secum quo Troïa pubes;
Albani docuere suos; hinc maxima porro
accepit Roma et patrium servavit honorem;
Troiaque nunc, pueri Troianum dicitur agmen.
Hac celebrata tenus sancto certamina patri.
  Hinc primum Fortuna fidem mutata novavit.
Dum variis tumulo referunt sollemnia ludis,
Irim de caelo misit Saturnia Iuno
Iliacam ad classem, ventosque aspirat eunti,
multa movens necdum antiquum saturata dolorem.
Illa, viam celerans per mille coloribus arcum,
nulli visa cito decurrit tramite virgo.
Conspicit ingentem concursum et litora lustrat,
desertosque videt portus classemque relictam.
At procul in sola secretae Troades acta

amissum Anchisen flebant, cunctaeque profundum
pontum aspectabant flentes. 'Heu tot vada fessis
et tantum superesse maris,' vox omnibus una.
Urbem orant, taedet pelagi perferre laborem.
Ergo inter medias sese haud ignara nocendi
coniicit, et faciemque deae vestemque reponit;
fit Beroe, Tmarii coniunx longaeva Dorycli,
cui genus et quondam nomen natique fuissent;
ac sic Dardanidum mediam se matribus infert.
'O miserae, quas non manus' inquit 'Achaica bello
traxerit ad letum patriae sub moenibus! o gens
infelix, cui te exitio Fortuna reservat?
septima post Troiae excidium iam vertitur aestas,
cum freta, cum terras omnes, tot inhospita saxa
sideraque emensae ferimur, dum per mare magnum
Italiam sequimur fugientem et volvimur undis.
Hic Erycis fines fraterni atque hospes Acestes:
quis prohibet muros iacere et dare civibus urbem?
O patria et rapti nequiquam ex hoste Penates,
nullane iam Troiae dicentur moenia? nusquam
Hectoreos amnes Xanthum et Simoenta videbo?
Quin agite et mecum infaustas exurite puppes.
Nam mihi Cassandrae per somnum vatis imago
ardentes dare visa faces: "Hic quaerite Troiam,
hic domus est" inquit "vobis." Iam tempus agi res,
nec tantis mora prodigiis. En quattuor arae
Neptuno; deus ipse faces animamque ministrat.'
Haec memorans prima infensum vi corripit ignem
sublataque procul dextra conixa coruscat
et iacit. Arrectae mentes stupefactaque corda
Iliadum. Hic una e multis quae maxima natu,
Pyrgo, tot Priami natorum regia nutrix;
'Non Beroe vobis, non haec Rhoeteia, matres,
est Dorycli coniunx: divini signa decoris
ardentesque notate oculos, qui spiritus illi,
quis vultus vocisque sonus vel gressus eunti.
Ipsa egomet dudum Beroen digressa reliqui
aegram, indignantem, tali quod sola careret
munere nec meritos Anchisae inferret honores.'

Haec effata.
At matres primo ancipites oculisque malignis
ambiguae spectare rates miserum inter amorem
praesentis terrae fatisque vocantia regna:
cum dea se paribus per caelum sustulit alis
ingentemque fuga secuit sub nubibus arcum.
Tum vero attonitae monstris actaeque furore
conclamant, rapiuntque focis penetralibus ignem,
pars spoliant aras, frondem ac virgulta facesque
coniiciunt. Furit immissis Vulcanus habenis
transtra per et remos et pictas abiete puppes.
Nuntius Anchisae ad tumulum cuneosque theatri
incensas perfert naves Eumelus, et ipsi
respiciunt atram in nimbo volitare favillam.
Primus et Ascanius, cursus ut laetus equestres
ducebat, sic acer equo turbata petivit
castra, nec exanimes possunt retinere magistri.
'Quis furor iste novus? quo nunc, quo tenditis,' inquit,
'heu miserae cives? non hostem inimicaque castra
Argivum, vestras spes uritis. En, ego vester
Ascanius!' Galeam ante pedes proiecit inanem,
qua ludo indutus belli simulacra ciebat.
Accelerat simul Aeneas, simul agmina Teucrum.
Ast illae diversa metu per litora passim
diffugiunt, silvasque et sicubi concava furtim
saxa petunt; piget incepti lucisque, suosque
mutatae agnoscunt, excussaque pectore Iuno est.
Sed non idcirco flamma atque incendia vires
indomitas posuere; udo sub robore vivit
stuppa vomens tardum fumum, lentusque carinas
est vapor, et toto descendit corpore pestis,
nec vires heroum infusaque flumina prosunt.
Tum pius Aeneas umeris abscindere vestem
auxilioque vocare deos et tendere palmas:
'Iuppiter omnipotens, si nondum exosus ad unum
Troianos, si quid pietas antiqua labores
respicit humanos, da flammam evadere classi
nunc, Pater, et tenues Teucrum res eripe leto;
vel tu, quod superest, infesto fulmine morti,

si mereor, demitte tuaque hic obrue dextra.'
Vix haec ediderat, cum effusis imbribus atra
tempestas sine more furit, tonitruque tremescunt
ardua terrarum et campi: ruit aethere toto
turbidus imber aqua densisque nigerrimus Austris,
implenturque super puppes, semiusta madescunt
robora, restinctus donec vapor omnis et omnes,
quattuor amissis, servatae a peste carinae.
At pater Aeneas, casu concussus acerbo,
nunc huc ingentes, nunc illuc pectore curas
mutabat versans, Siculisne resideret arvis
oblitus fatorum, Italasne capesseret oras.
Tum senior Nautes, unum Tritonia Pallas
quem docuit multaque insignem reddidit arte
(haec responsa dabat, vel quae portenderet ira
magna deum, vel quae fatorum posceret ordo),
isque his Aenean solatus vocibus infit:
'Nate dea, quo fata trahunt retrahuntque sequamur;
quidquid erit, superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est.
Est tibi Dardanius divinae stirpis Acestes.
Hunc cape consiliis socium et coniunge volentem;
huic trade amissis superant qui navibus, et quos
pertaesum magni incepti rerumque tuarum est;
longaevosque senes ac fessas aequore matres,
et quidquid tecum invalidum metuensque pericli est,
delige, et his habeant terris sine moenia fessi:
urbem appellabunt permisso nomine Acestam.'
Talibus incensus dictis senioris amici
tum vero in curas animo diducitur omnes.
Et Nox atra polum bigis subvecta tenebat.
Visa dehinc caelo facies delapsa parentis
Anchisae subito tales effundere voces:
'Nate, mihi vita quondam, dum vita manebat,
care magis, nate, Iliacis exercite fatis,
imperio Iovis huc venio, qui classibus ignem
depulit, et caelo tandem miseratus ab alto est.
Consiliis pare, quae nunc pulcherrima Nautes
dat senior: lectos iuvenes, fortissima corda,
defer in Italiam. Gens dura atque aspera cultu

debellanda tibi Latio est. Ditis tamen ante
infernas accede domos et Averna per alta
congressus pete, nate, meos. Non me impia namque
Tartara habent, tristes umbrae, sed amoena piorum
concilia Elysiumque colo. Huc casta Sibylla
nigrarum multo pecudum te sanguine ducet.
Tum genus omne tuum et quae dentur moenia disces.
Iamque vale; torquet medios Nox umida cursus,
et me saevus equis Oriens afflavit anhelis.'
Dixerat, et tenues fugit ceu fumus in auras.
Aeneas 'Quo deinde ruis? quo proripis?' inquit,
'quem fugis? aut quis te nostris complexibus arcet?'
Haec memorans cinerem et sopitos suscitat ignes,
Pergameumque Larem et canae penetralia Vestae
farre pio et plena supplex veneratur acerra.
Extemplo socios primumque arcessit Acesten,
et Iovis imperium et cari praecepta parentis
edocet et quae nunc animo sententia constet.
Haud mora consiliis, nec iussa recusat Acestes.
Transcribunt urbi matres populumque volentem
deponunt, animos nil magnae laudis egentes.
Ipsi transtra novant flammisque ambesa reponunt
robora navigiis, aptant remosque rudentesque,
exigui numero, sed bello vivida virtus.
Interea Aeneas urbem designat aratro
sortiturque domos; hoc Ilium et haec loca Troiam
esse iubet. Gaudet regno Troianus Acestes,
indicitque forum et patribus dat iura vocatis.
Tum vicina astris Erycino in vertice sedes
fundatur Veneri Idaliae, tumuloque sacerdos
ac lucus late sacer additur Anchiseo.
Iamque dies epulata novem gens omnis, et aris
factus honos: placidi straverunt aequora venti,
creber et aspirans rursus vocat Auster in altum.
Exoritur procurva ingens per litora fletus;
complexi inter se noctemque diemque morantur.
Ipsae iam matres, ipsi, quibus aspera quondam
visa maris facies et non tolerabile nomen,
ire volunt omnemque fugae perferre laborem.

Quos bonus Aeneas dictis solatur amicis
et consanguineo lacrimans commendat Acestae.
Tres Eryci vitulos et Tempestatibus agnam
caedere deinde iubet solvique ex ordine funem.
Ipse caput tonsae foliis evinctus olivae,
stans procul in prora pateram tenet, extaque salsos
proicit in fluctus ac vina liquentia fundit.
prosequitur surgens a puppi ventus euntes:
certatim socii feriunt mare et aequora verrunt.
  At Venus interea Neptunum exercita curis
alloquitur talesque effundit pectore questus:
'Iunonis gravis ira neque exsaturabile pectus
cogunt me, Neptune, preces descendere in omnes,
quam nec longa dies pietas nec mitigat ulla,
nec Iovis imperio fatisque infracta quiescit.
Non media de gente Phrygum exedisse nefandis
urbem odiis satis est nec poenam traxe per omnem:
reliquias Troiae, cineres atque ossa peremptae
insequitur. Causas tanti sciat illa furoris.
Ipse mihi nuper Libycis tu testis in undis
quam molem subito excierit: maria omnia caelo
miscuit, Aeoliis nequiquam freta procellis,
in regnis hoc ausa tuis.
Per scelus ecce etiam Troianis matribus actis
exussit foede puppes, et classe subegit
amissa socios ignotae linquere terrae.
Quod superest oro liceat dare tuta per undas
vela tibi, liceat Laurentem attingere Thybrim,
si concessa peto, si dant ea moenia Parcae.'
Tum Saturnius haec domitor maris edidit alti:
'Fas omne est, Cytherea, meis te fidere regnis,
unde genus ducis. Merui quoque: saepe furores
compressi et rabiem tantam caelique marisque.
Nec minor in terris (Xanthum Simoentaque testor)
Aeneae mihi cura tui. Cum Troïa Achilles
exanimata sequens impingeret agmina muris,
millia multa daret leto, gemerentque repleti
amnes, nec reperire viam atque evolvere posset
in mare se Xanthus, Pelidae tunc ego forti

congressum Aenean nec dis nec viribus aequis
nube cava rapui, cuperem cum vertere ab imo
structa meis manibus periurae moenia Troiae.
Nunc quoque mens eadem perstat mihi, pelle timores.
Tutus quos optas portus accedet Averni.
Unus erit tantum, amissum quem gurgite quaeret;
unum pro multis dabitur caput.'
His ubi laeta deae permulsit pectora dictis,
iungit equos auro genitor spumantiaque addit
frena feris manibusque omnes effundit habenas.
Caeruleo per summa levis volat aequora curru;
subsidunt undae, tumidumque sub axe tonanti
sternitur aequor aquis, fugiunt vasto aethere nimbi.
Tum variae comitum facies, immania cete,
et senior Glauci chorus Inousque Palaemon
Tritonesque citi Phorcique exercitus omnis;
laeva tenent Thetis et Melite Panopeaque virgo,
Nesaee Spioque Thaliaque Cymodoceque.
  Hic patris Aeneae suspensam blanda vicissim
gaudia pertemptant mentem: iubet ocius omnes
attolli malos, intendi bracchia velis.
Una omnes fecere pedem pariterque sinistros,
nunc dextros solvere sinus, una ardua torquent
cornua detorquentque, ferunt sua flamina classem.
Princeps ante omnes densum Palinurus agebat
agmen; ad hunc alii cursum contendere iussi.
Iamque fere mediam caeli Nox umida metam
contigerat, placida laxabant membra quiete
sub remis fusi per dura sedilia nautae:
cum levis aetheriis delapsus Somnus ab astris
aëra dimovit tenebrosum et dispulit umbras,
te, Palinure, petens, tibi somnia tristia portans
insonti; puppique deus consedit in alta,
Phorbanti similis, funditque has ore loquelas:
'Iaside Palinure, ferunt ipsa aequora classem;
aequatae spirant aurae; datur hora quieti.
Pone caput fessosque oculos furare labori.
Ipse ego paulisper pro te tua munera inibo.'
Cui vix attollens Palinurus lumina fatur:

'Mene salis placidi vultum fluctusque quietos
ignorare iubes? mene huic confidere monstro?
Aenean credam quid enim fallacibus auris
et caeli totiens deceptus fraude sereni?'
Talia dicta dabat, clavumque affixus et haerens
nusquam amittebat oculosque sub astra tenebat.
Ecce deus ramum Lethaeo rore madentem
vique soporatum Stygia super utraque quassat
tempora, cunctantique natantia lumina solvit.
Vix primos inopina quies laxaverat artus,
et super incumbens cum puppis parte revulsa
cumque gubernaclo liquidas proiecit in undas
praecipitem ac socios nequiquam saepe vocantem;
ipse volans tenues se sustulit ales ad auras.
Currit iter tutum non setius aequore classis
promissisque patris Neptuni interrita fertur.
Iamque adeo scopulos Sirenum advecta subibat,
difficiles quondam multorumque ossibus albos;
tum rauca assiduo longe sale saxa sonabant:
cum pater amisso fluitantem errare magistro
sensit, et ipse ratem nocturnis rexit in undis,
multa gemens casuque animum concussus amici:
'O nimium caelo et pelago confise sereno,
nudus in ignota, Palinure, iacebis harena.'

AENEIS.

LIBER SEXTUS.

Sic fatur lacrimans, classique immittit habenas,
et tandem Euboicis Cumarum allabitur oris.
Obvertunt pelago proras; tum dente tenaci
ancora fundabat naves et litora curvae
praetexunt puppes. Iuvenum manus emicat ardens
litus in Hesperium; quaerit pars semina flammae
abstrusa in venis silicis, pars densa ferarum
tecta rapit silvas, inventaque flumina monstrat.
At pius Aeneas arces, quibus altus Apollo
praesidet, horrendaeque procul secreta Sibyllae,
antrum immane petit, magnam cui mentem animumque
Delius inspirat vates aperitque futura.
Iam subeunt Triviae lucos atque aurea tecta.
Daedalus, ut fama est, fugiens Minoia regna,
praepetibus pennis ausus se credere caelo,
insuetum per iter gelidas enavit ad Arctos,
Chalcidicaque levis tandem super astitit arce.
Redditus his primum terris tibi, Phoebe, sacravit
remigium alarum posuitque immania templa.
In foribus letum Androgei, tum pendere poenas
Cecropidae iussi (miserum!) septena quotannis
corpora natorum; stat ductis sortibus urna.
Contra elata mari respondet Gnosia tellus:
hic crudelis amor tauri suppostaque furto
Pasiphaë mixtumque genus prolesque biformis
Minotaurus inest, Veneris monimenta nefandae,
hic labor ille domus et inextricabilis error;
magnum reginae sed enim miseratus amorem
Daedalus ipse dolos tecti ambagesque resolvit,

caeca regens filo vestigia. Tu quoque magnam
partem opere in tanto, sineret dolor, Icare, haberes.
Bis conatus erat casus effingere in auro,
bis patriae cecidere manus. Quin protinus omnia
perlegerent oculis, ni iam praemissus Achates
afforet atque una Phoebi Triviaeque sacerdos,
Deiphobe Glauci, fatur quae talia regi:
'Non hoc ista sibi tempus spectacula poscit:
nunc grege de intacto septem mactare iuvencos
praestiterit, totidem lectas de more bidentes.'
Talibus affata Aenean (nec sacra morantur
iussa viri) Teucros vocat alta in templa sacerdos.
  Excisum Euboicae latus ingens rupis in antrum,
quo lati ducunt aditus centum, ostia centum;
unde ruunt totidem voces, responsa Sibyllae.
Ventum erat ad limen, cum virgo 'Poscere fata
tempus' ait: 'Deus, ecce, deus!' Cui talia fanti
ante fores subito non vultus, non color unus,
non comptae mansere comae; sed pectus anhelum,
et rabie fera corda tument; maiorque videri
nec mortale sonans, afflata est numine quando
iam propiore dei. 'Cessas in vota precesque,
Tros' ait 'Aenea, cessas? neque enim ante dehiscent
attonitae magna ora domus.' Et talia fata
conticuit. Gelidus Teucris per dura cucurrit
ossa tremor, funditque preces rex pectore ab imo:
'Phoebe, graves Troiae semper miserate labores,
Dardana qui Paridis direxti tela manusque
corpus in Aeacidae, magnas obeuntia terras
tot maria intravi duce te, penitusque repostas
Massylum gentes praetentaque Syrtibus arva;
iam tandem Italiae fugientes prendimus oras;
hac Troiana tenus fuerit Fortuna secuta.
Vos quoque Pergameae iam fas est parcere genti,
dique deaeque omnes, quibus obstitit Ilium et ingens
gloria Dardaniae. Tuque, o sanctissima vates,
praescia venturi, da (non indebita posco
regna meis fatis) Latio considere Teucros
errantesque deos agitataque numina Troiae.

Tum Phoebo et Triviae solido de marmore templum
instituam festosque dies de nomine Phoebi.
Te quoque magna manent regnis penetralia nostris:
hic ego namque tuas sortes arcanaque fata,
dicta meae genti, ponam lectosque sacrabo,
alma, viros. Foliis tantum ne carmina manda,
ne turbata volent rapidis ludibria ventis:
ipsa canas oro.' Finem dedit ore loquendi.
At, Phoebi nondum patiens, immanis in antro
bacchatur vates, magnum si pectore possit
excussisse deum: tanto magis ille fatigat
os rabidum, fera corda domans, fingitque premendo.
Ostia iamque domus patuere ingentia centum
sponte sua vatisque ferunt responsa per auras:
'O tandem magnis pelagi defuncte periclis
(sed terrae graviora manent), in regna Lavini
Dardanidae venient; mitte hanc de pectore curam;
sed non et venisse volent. Bella, horrida bella
et Thybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno.
Non Simois tibi nec Xanthus nec Dorica castra
defuerint; alius Latio iam partus Achilles,
natus et ipse dea; nec Teucris addita Iuno
usquam aberit: cum tu supplex in rebus egenis
quas gentes Italum aut quas non oraveris urbes!
Causa mali tanti coniunx iterum hospita Teucris
externique iterum thalami.
Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito
quam tua te Fortuna sinet. Via prima salutis,
quod minime reris, Graia pandetur ab urbe.'
Talibus ex adyto dictis Cumaea Sibylla
horrendas canit ambages antroque remugit,
obscuris vera involvens: ea frena furenti
concutit et stimulos sub pectore vertit Apollo.
Ut primum cessit furor et rabida ora quierunt,
incipit Aeneas heros: 'Non ulla laborum,
o virgo, nova mi facies inopinave surgit;
omnia praecepi atque animo mecum ante peregi.
Unum oro: quando hic inferni ianua regis
dicitur et tenebrosa palus Acheronte refuso,

ire ad conspectum cari genitoris et ora
contingat; doceas iter et sacra ostia pandas.
Illum ego per flammas et mille sequentia tela
eripui his umeris medioque ex hoste recepi;
ille meum comitatus iter maria omnia mecum
atque omnes pelagique minas caelique ferebat,
invalidus, vires ultra sortemque senectae.
Quin, ut te supplex peterem et tua limina adirem,
idem orans mandata dabat. Natique patrisque,
alma, precor, miserere; potes namque omnia, nec te
nequiquam lucis Hecate praefecit Avernis.
Si potuit manes arcessere coniugis Orpheus
Threicia fretus cithara fidibusque canoris,
si fratrem Pollux alterna morte redemit,
itque reditque viam totiens—quid Thesea magnum,
quid memorem Alciden? et mi genus ab Iove summo.'
  Talibus orabat dictis arasque tenebat,
cum sic orsa loqui vates: 'Sate sanguine divum,
Tros Anchisiade, facilis descensus Averno;
noctes atque dies patet atri ianua Ditis;
sed revocare gradum superasque evadere ad auras,
hoc opus, hic labor est. Pauci, quos aequus amavit
Iuppiter aut ardens evexit ad aethera virtus,
dis geniti potuere. Tenent media omnia silvae,
Cocytusque sinu labens circumvenit atro.
Quod si tantus amor menti, si tanta cupido
bis Stygios innare lacus, bis nigra videre
Tartara, et insano iuvat indulgere labori,
accipe quae peragenda prius. Latet arbore opaca
aureus et foliis et lento vimine ramus,
Iunoni infernae dictus sacer; hunc tegit omnis
lucus et obscuris claudunt convallibus umbrae.
Sed non ante datur telluris operta subire,
auricomos quam quis decerpserit arbore fetus.
Hoc sibi pulchra suum ferri Proserpina munus
instituit: primo avulso non deficit alter
aureus, et simili frondescit virga metallo.
Ergo alte vestiga oculis et rite repertum
carpe manu. Namque ipse volens facilisque sequetur,

si te fata vocant: aliter non viribus ullis
vincere nec duro poteris convellere ferro.
Praeterea iacet exanimum tibi corpus amici
(heu nescis) totamque incestat funere classem,
dum consulta petis nostroque in limine pendes.
Sedibus hunc refer ante suis et conde sepulcro.
Duc nigras pecudes; ea prima piacula sunto.
Sic demum lucos Stygis et regna invia vivis
aspicies.' Dixit pressoque obmutuit ore.
  Aeneas maesto defixus lumina vultu
ingreditur, linquens antrum, caecosque volutat
eventus animo secum. Cui fidus Achates
it comes et paribus curis vestigia figit.
Multa inter sese vario sermone serebant,
quem socium exanimem vates, quod corpus humandum
diceret: atque illi Misenum in litore sicco,
ut venere, vident indigna morte peremptum,
Misenum Aeoliden, quo non praestantior alter
aere ciere viros Martemque accendere cantu.
Hectoris hic magni fuerat comes, Hectora circum
et lituo pugnas insignis obibat et hasta.
Postquam illum vita victor spoliavit Achilles,
Dardanio Aeneae sese fortissimus heros
addiderat socium, non inferiora secutus.
Sed tum forte cava dum personat aequora concha,
demens, et cantu vocat in certamina divos,
aemulus exceptum Triton, si credere dignum est,
inter saxa virum spumosa immerserat unda.
Ergo omnes magno circum clamore fremebant,
praecipue pius Aeneas. Tum iussa Sibyllae,
haud mora, festinant flentes aramque sepulcri
congerere arboribus caeloque educere certant.
Itur in antiquam silvam, stabula alta ferarum,
procumbunt piceae, sonat icta securibus ilex,
fraxineaeque trabes cuneis et fissile robur
scinditur, advolvunt ingentes montibus ornos.
Nec non Aeneas opera inter talia primus
hortatur socios paribusque accingitur armis.
Atque haec ipse suo tristi cum corde volutat,

aspectans silvam immensam, et sic forte precatur:
'Si nunc se nobis ille aureus arbore ramus
ostendat nemore in tanto! quando omnia vere
heu nimium de te vates, Misene, locuta est.'
Vix ea fatus erat, geminae cum forte columbae
ipsa sub ora viri caelo venere volantes,
et viridi sedere solo. Tum maximus heros
maternas agnoscit aves laetusque precatur:
'Este duces o, si qua via est, cursumque per auras
dirigite in lucos, ubi pinguem dives opacat
ramus humum. Tuque o dubiis ne defice rebus,
diva parens.' Sic effatus vestigia pressit
observans, quae signa ferant, quo tendere pergant.
Pascentes illae tantum prodire volando,
quantum acie possent oculi servare sequentum.
Inde ubi venere ad fauces graveolentis Averni,
tollunt se celeres liquidumque per aëra lapsae
sedibus optatis gemina super arbore sidunt,
discolor unde auri per ramos aura refulsit.
Quale solet silvis brumali frigore viscum
fronde virere nova, quod non sua seminat arbos,
et croceo fetu teretes circumdare truncos:
talis erat species auri frondentis opaca
ilice, sic leni crepitabat brattea vento.
Corripit Aeneas extemplo avidusque refringit
cunctantem, et vatis portat sub tecta Sibyllae.
 Nec minus interea Misenum in litore Teucri
flebant, et cineri ingrato suprema ferebant.
Principio pinguem taedis et robore secto
ingentem struxere pyram, cui frondibus atris
intexunt latera et ferales ante cupressos
constituunt, decorantque super fulgentibus armis.
Pars calidos latices et aëna undantia flammis
expediunt, corpusque lavant frigentis et ungunt.
Fit gemitus. Tum membra toro defleta reponunt
purpureasque super vestes, velamina nota,
coniiciunt. Pars ingenti subiere feretro
(triste ministerium) et subiectam more parentum
aversi tenuere facem. Congesta cremantur

turea dona, dapes, fuso crateres olivo.
Postquam collapsi cineres et flamma quievit,
reliquias vino et bibulam lavere favillam,
ossaque lecta cado texit Corynaeus aëno.
Idem ter socios pura circumtulit unda
spargens rore levi et ramo felicis olivae,
lustravitque viros dixitque novissima verba.
At pius Aeneas ingenti mole sepulcrum
imponit, suaque arma viro remumque tubamque
monte sub aërio, qui nunc Misenus ab illo
dicitur aeternumque tenet per saecula nomen.
His actis propere exsequitur praecepta Sibyllae.
Spelunca alta fuit vastoque immanis hiatu,
scrupea, tuta lacu nigro nemorumque tenebris,
quam super haud ullae poterant impune volantes
tendere iter pennis; talis sese halitus atris
faucibus effundens supera ad convexa ferebat:
[unde locum Graii dixerunt nomine Aornon.]
Quattuor hic primum nigrantes terga iuvencos
constituit frontique invergit vina sacerdos,
et summas carpens media inter cornua saetas
ignibus imponit sacris, libamina prima,
voce vocans Hecaten caeloque Ereboque potentem.
Supponunt alii cultros tepidumque cruorem
succipiunt pateris. Ipse atri velleris agnam
Aeneas matri Eumenidum magnaeque sorori
ense ferit sterilemque tibi, Proserpina, vaccam.
Tum Stygio regi nocturnas incohat aras
et solida imponit taurorum viscera flammis,
pingue super oleum fundens ardentibus extis.
Ecce autem primi sub lumina solis et ortus
sub pedibus mugire solum, et iuga coepta moveri
silvarum, visaeque canes ululare per umbram
adventante dea. 'Procul o procul este, profani'
conclamat vates, 'totoque absistite luco;
tuque invade viam vaginaque eripe ferrum:
nunc animis opus, Aenea, nunc pectore firmo.'
Tantum effata furens antro se immisit aperto;

ille ducem haud timidis vadentem passibus aequat.
Di, quibus imperium est animarum, umbraeque silentes
et Chaos et Phlegethon, loca nocte tacentia late,
sit mihi fas audita loqui, sit numine vestro
pandere res alta terra et caligine mersas.
Ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram
perque domos Ditis vacuas et inania regna:
quale per incertam lunam sub luce maligna
est iter in silvis, ubi caelum condidit umbra
Iuppiter et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem.
Vestibulum ante ipsum primis in faucibus Orci
Luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curae,
pallentesque habitant Morbi, tristisque Senectus,
et Metus, et malesuada Fames, ac turpis Egestas,
terribiles visu formae, Letumque Labosque;
tum consanguineus Leti Sopor, et mala mentis
Gaudia, mortiferumque adverso in limine Bellum,
ferreique Eumenidum thalami et Discordia demens,
vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis.
In medio ramos annosaque bracchia pandit
ulmus opaca ingens, quam sedem somnia vulgo
vana tenere ferunt, foliisque sub omnibus haerent.
Multaque praeterea variarum monstra ferarum
Centauri in foribus stabulant Scyllaeque biformes
et centumgeminus Briareus ac belua Lernae,
horrendum stridens, flammisque armata Chimaera,
Gorgones Harpyiaeque et forma tricorporis umbrae.
Corripit hic subita trepidus formidine ferrum
Aeneas strictamque aciem venientibus offert,
et ni docta comes tenues sine corpore vitas
admoneat volitare cava sub imagine formae,
irruat et frustra ferro diverberet umbras.
Hinc via Tartarei quae fert Acherontis ad undas.
Turbidus hic caeno vastaque voragine gurges
aestuat atque omnem Cocyto eructat harenam.
Portitor has horrendus aquas et flumina servat
terribili squalore Charon, cui plurima mento
canities inculta iacet, stant lumina flamma,
sordidus ex umeris nodo dependet amictus.

Ipse ratem conto subigit velisque ministrat,
et ferruginea subvectat corpora cymba,
iam senior, sed cruda deo viridisque senectus.
Huc omnis turba ad ripas effusa ruebat,
matres atque viri defunctaque corpora vita
magnanimum heroum, pueri innuptaeque puellae
impositique rogis iuvenes ante ora parentum:
quam multa in silvis autumni frigore primo
lapsa cadunt folia, aut ad terram gurgite ab alto
quam multae glomerantur aves, ubi frigidus annus
trans pontum fugat et terris immittit apricis.
Stabant orantes primi transmittere cursum
tendebantque manus ripae ulterioris amore:
navita sed tristis nunc hos nunc accipit illos,
ast alios longe submotos arcet harena.
Aeneas miratus enim motusque tumultu
'Dic' ait, 'o virgo, quid vult concursus ad amnem?
quidve petunt animae? vel quo discrimine ripas
hae linquunt, illae remis vada livida verrunt?'
Olli sic breviter fata est longaeva sacerdos:
'Anchisa generate, deum certissima proles,
Cocyti stagna alta vides Stygiamque paludem,
di cuius iurare timent et fallere numen.
Haec omnis, quam cernis, inops inhumataque turba est;
portitor ille Charon; hi, quos vehit unda, sepulti.
Nec ripas datur horrendas et rauca fluenta
transportare prius, quam sedibus ossa quierunt.
Centum errant annos volitantque haec litora circum;
tum demum admissi stagna exoptata revisunt.'
Constitit Anchisa satus et vestigia pressit,
multa putans sortemque animo miseratus iniquam.
Cernit ibi maestos et mortis honore carentes
Leucaspim et Lyciae ductorem classis Oronten,
quos simul a Troia ventosa per aequora vectos
obruit Auster, aqua involvens navemque virosque.
Ecce gubernator sese Palinurus agebat,
qui Libyco nuper cursu, dum sidera servat,
exciderat puppi mediis effusus in undis.
Hunc ubi vix multa maestum cognovit in umbra,

sic prior alloquitur: 'Quis te, Palinure, deorum
eripuit nobis medioque sub aequore mersit?
Dic age. Namque mihi, fallax haud ante repertus,
hoc uno responso animum delusit Apollo,
qui fore te ponto incolumem finesque canebat
venturum Ausonios. En haec promissa fides est?'
Ille autem: 'Neque te Phoebi cortina fefellit,
dux Anchisiade, nec me deus aequore mersit.
Namque gubernaclum multa vi forte revulsum,
cui datus haerebam custos cursusque regebam,
praecipitans traxi mecum. Maria aspera iuro
non ullum pro me tantum cepisse timorem,
quam tua ne spoliata armis, excussa magistro,
deficeret tantis navis surgentibus undis.
Tres Notus hibernas immensa per aequora noctes
vexit me violentus aqua; vix lumine quarto
prospexi Italiam summa sublimis ab unda.
Paulatim annabam terrae: iam tuta tenebam,
ni gens crudelis madida cum veste gravatum
prensantemque uncis manibus capita aspera montis
ferro invasisset, praedamque ignara putasset.
Nunc me fluctus habet versantque in litore venti.
Quod te per caeli iucundum lumen et auras,
per genitorem oro, per spes surgentis Iuli,
eripe me his, invicte, malis: aut tu mihi terram
iniice (namque potes) portusque require Velinos,
aut tu, si qua via est, si quam tibi diva creatrix
ostendit (neque enim, credo, sine numine divum
flumina tanta paras Stygiamque innare paludem),
da dextram misero et tecum me tolle per undas,
sedibus ut saltem placidis in morte quiescam.'
Talia fatus erat, coepit cum talia vates:
'Unde haec, o Palinure, tibi tam dira cupido?
tu Stygias inhumatus aquas amnemque severum
Eumenidum aspicies, ripamve iniussus adibis?
Desine fata deum flecti sperare precando.
Sed cape dicta memor, duri solatia casus.
Nam tua finitimi, longe lateque per urbes
prodigiis acti caelestibus, ossa piabunt,

et statuent tumulum et tumulo sollemnia mittent,
aeternumque locus Palinuri nomen habebit.'
His dictis curae emotae pulsusque parumper
corde dolor tristi; gaudet cognomine terrae.
Ergo iter inceptum peragunt fluvioque propinquant:
navita quos iam inde ut Stygia prospexit ab unda
per tacitum nemus ire pedemque advertere ripae,
sic prior aggreditur dictis atque increpat ultro:
'Quisquis es, armatus qui nostra ad flumina tendis,
fare age, quid venias, iam istinc, et comprime gressum.
Umbrarum hic locus est, somni noctisque soporae;
corpora viva nefas Stygia vectare carina.
Nec vero Alciden me sum laetatus euntem
accepisse lacu nec Thesea Pirithoumque,
dis quamquam geniti atque invicti viribus essent.
Tartareum ille manu custodem in vincla petivit
ipsius a solio regis, traxitque trementem;
hi dominam Ditis thalamo deducere adorti.'
Quae contra breviter fata est Amphrysia vates:
'Nullae hic insidiae tales (absiste moveri)
nec vim tela ferunt; licet ingens ianitor antro
aeternum latrans exsangues terreat umbras,
casta licet patrui servet Proserpina limen.
Troïus Aeneas, pietate insignis et armis,
ad genitorem imas Erebi descendit ad umbras.
Si te nulla movet tantae pietatis imago,
at ramum hunc' (aperit ramum, qui veste latebat)
'agnoscas;' tumida ex ira tum corda residunt;
nec plura his: ille admirans venerabile donum
fatalis virgae, longo post tempore visum,
caeruleam advertit puppim ripaeque propinquat.
Inde alias animas, quae per iuga longa sedebant,
deturbat laxatque foros; simul accipit alveo
ingentem Aenean. Gemuit sub pondere cymba
sutilis et multam accepit rimosa paludem.
Tandem trans fluvium incolumes vatemque virumque
informi limo glaucaque exponit in ulva.
Cerberus haec ingens latratu regna trifauci
personat, adverso recubans immanis in antro.

Cui vates, horrere videns iam colla colubris,
melle soporatam et medicatis frugibus offam
obiicit. Ille fame rabida tria guttura pandens
corripit obiectam, atque immania terga resolvit
fusus humi, totoque ingens extenditur antro.
Occupat Aeneas aditum custode sepulto,
evaditque celer ripam irremeabilis undae.
  Continuo auditae voces vagitus et ingens,
infantumque animae flentes in limine primo,
quos dulcis vitae exsortes et ab ubere raptos
abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo.
Hos iuxta falso damnati crimine mortis.
Nec vero hae sine sorte datae, sine iudice, sedes:
quaesitor Minos urnam movet; ille silentum
conciliumque vocat vitasque et crimina discit.
Proxima deinde tenent maesti loca, qui sibi letum
insontes peperere manu, lucemque perosi
proiecere animas. Quam vellent aethere in alto
nunc et pauperiem et duros perferre labores!
Fas obstat, tristique palus inamabilis unda
alligat et novies Styx interfusa coercet.
Nec procul hinc partem fusi monstrantur in omnem
lugentes campi; sic illos nomine dicunt.
Hic quos durus amor crudeli tabe peredit,
secreti celant calles et myrtea circum
silva tegit; curae non ipsa in morte relinquunt.
His Phaedram Procrimque locis maestamque Eriphylen,
crudelis nati monstrantem vulnera, cernit,
Evadnenque et Pasiphaen; his Laodamia
it comes, et iuvenis quondam, nunc femina Caeneus,
rursus et in veterem fato revoluta figuram.
Inter quas Phoenissa recens a vulnere Dido
errabat silva in magna. Quam Troïus heros
ut primum iuxta stetit agnovitque per umbras
obscuram, qualem primo qui surgere mense
aut videt aut vidisse putat per nubila lunam,
demisit lacrimas dulcique affatus amcre est:
'Infelix Dido, verus mihi nuntius ergo
venerat exstinctam ferroque extrema secutam?

Funeris heu tibi causa fui? Per sidera iuro,
per superos et si qua fides tellure sub ima est,
invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi.
Sed me iussa deum, quae nunc has ire per umbras,
per loca senta situ cogunt noctemque profundam,
imperiis egere suis; nec credere quivi
hunc tantum tibi me discessu ferre dolorem.
Siste gradum teque aspectu ne subtrahe nostro.
Quem fugis? Extremum fato quod te alloquor, hoc est.'
Talibus Aeneas ardentem et torva tuentem
lenibat dictis animum lacrimasque ciebat.
Illa solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat,
nec magis incepto vultum sermone movetur,
quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes.
Tandem corripuit sese atque inimica refugit
in nemus umbriferum, coniunx ubi pristinus illi
respondet curis aequatque Sychaeus amorem.
Nec minus Aeneas, casu concussus iniquo,
prosequitur lacrimis longe et miseratur euntem.
  Inde datum molitur iter. Iamque arva tenebant
ultima, quae bello clari secreta frequentant.
Hic illi occurrit Tydeus, hic inclitus armis
Parthenopaeus et Adrasti pallentis imago,
hic multum fleti ad superos belloque caduci
Dardanidae, quos ille omnes longo ordine cernens
ingemuit, Glaucumque Medontaque Thersilochumque,
tres Antenoridas, Cererique sacrum Polyphoeten,
Idaeumque etiam currus, etiam arma tenentem.
Circumstant animae dextra laevaque frequentes:
nec vidisse semel satis est; iuvat usque morari
et conferre gradum et veniendi discere causas.
At Danaum proceres Agamemnoniaeque phalanges,
ut videre virum fulgentiaque arma per umbras,
ingenti trepidare metu: pars vertere terga,
ceu quondam petiere rates; pars tollere vocem
exiguam: inceptus clamor frustratur hiantes.
  Atque hic Priamiden laniatum corpore toto
Deiphobum videt et lacerum crudeliter ora,
ora manusque ambas, populataque tempora raptis

auribus et truncas inhonesto vulnere nares.
Vix adeo agnovit pavitantem ac dira tegentem
supplicia, et notis compellat vocibus ultro:
'Deiphobe armipotens, genus alto a sanguine Teucri,
quis tam crudeles optavit sumere poenas?
cui tantum de te licuit? mihi fama suprema
nocte tulit fessum vasta te caede Pelasgum
procubuisse super confusae stragis acervum.
Tunc egomet tumulum Rhoeteo litore inanem
constitui et magna manes ter voce vocavi.
Nomen et arma locum servant; te, amice, nequivi
conspicere et patria decedens ponere terra.'
Ad quae Priamides: 'Nihil o tibi, amice, relictum;
omnia Deiphobo solvisti et funeris umbris.
Sed me fata mea et scelus exitiale Lacaenae
his mersere malis; illa haec monimenta reliquit.
Namque ut supremam falsa inter gaudia noctem
egerimus, nosti; et nimium meminisse necesse est.
Cum fatalis equus saltu super ardua venit
Pergama et armatum peditem gravis attulit alvo,
illa chorum simulans evantes orgia circum
ducebat Phrygias; flammam media ipsa tenebat
ingentem et summa Danaos ex arce vocabat.
Tum me confectum curis somnoque gravatum
infelix habuit thalamus, pressitque iacentem
dulcis et alta quies placidaeque simillima morti.
Egregia interea coniunx arma omnia tectis
emovet, et fidum capiti subduxerat ensem;
intra tecta vocat Menelaum et limina pandit,
scilicet id magnum sperans fore munus amanti,
et famam exstingui veterum sic posse malorum.
Quid moror? Irrumpunt thalamo, comes additus una
hortator scelerum Aeolides. Di, talia Graiis
instaurate, pio si poenas ore reposco.
Sed te qui vivum casus, age fare vicissim,
attulerint. Pelagine venis erroribus actus
an monitu divum? an quae te Fortuna fatigat,
ut tristes sine sole domos, loca turbida, adires?'
Hac vice sermonum roseis Aurora quadrigis

iam medium aetherio cursu traiecerat axem.
Et fors omne datum traherent per talia tempus,
sed comes admonuit breviterque affata Sibylla est:
'Nox ruit, Aenea; nos flendo ducimus horas.
Hic locus est, partes ubi se via findit in ambas:
dextera quae Ditis magni sub moenia tendit,
hac iter Elysium nobis; at laeva malorum
exercet poenas et ad impia Tartara mittit.'
Deiphobus contra 'Ne saevi, magna sacerdos:
discedam, explebo numerum reddarque tenebris.
I decus, i, nostrum: melioribus utere fatis.'
Tantum effatus, et in verbo vestigia torsit.
  Respicit Aeneas subito et sub rupe sinistra
moenia lata videt, triplici circumdata muro,
quae rapidus flammis ambit torrentibus amnis,
Tartareus Phlegethon, torquetque sonantia saxa.
Porta adversa ingens, solidoque adamante columnae,
vis ut nulla virum, non ipsi exscindere bello
caelicolae valeant; stat ferrea turris ad auras,
Tisiphoneque sedens, palla succincta cruenta,
vestibulum exsomnis servat noctesque diesque.
Hinc exaudiri gemitus et saeva sonare
verbera, tum stridor ferri tractaeque catenae.
Constitit Aeneas strepitumque exterritus hausit.
'Quae scelerum facies? o virgo, effare; quibusve
urgentur poenis? quis tantus plangor ad auras?'
Tum vates sic orsa loqui: 'Dux inclite Teucrum,
nulli fas casto sceleratum insistere limen;
sed me cum lucis Hecate praefecit Avernis,
ipsa deum poenas docuit perque omnia duxit.
Gnosius haec Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna,
castigatque auditque dolos subigitque fateri,
quae quis apud superos, furto laetatus inani,
distulit in seram commissa piacula mortem.
Continuo sontes ultrix accincta flagello
Tisiphone quatit insultans, torvosque sinistra
intentans angues vocat agmina saeva sororum.
Tum demum horrisono stridentes cardine sacrae
panduntur portae. Cernis, custodia qualis

vestibulo sedeat? facies quae limina servet?
Quinquaginta atris immanis hiatibus Hydra
saevior intus habet sedem. Tum Tartarus ipse
bis patet in praeceps tantum tenditque sub umbras,
quantus ad aetherium caeli suspectus Olympum.
Hic genus antiquum Terrae, Titania pubes,
fulmine deiecti fundo volvuntur in imo.
Hic et Aloidas geminos immania vidi
corpora, qui manibus magnum rescindere caelum
aggressi superisque Iovem detrudere regnis.
Vidi et crudeles dantem Salmonea poenas,
dum flammas Iovis et sonitus imitatur Olympi.
Quattuor hic invectus equis et lampada quassans
per Graium populos mediaeque per Elidis urbem
ibat ovans, divumque sibi poscebat honorem,
demens, qui nimbos et non imitabile fulmen
aere et cornipedum pulsu simularet equorum.
At Pater omnipotens densa inter nubila telum
contorsit, non ille faces nec fumea taedis
lumina, praecipitemque immani turbine adegit.
Nec non et Tityon, Terrae omniparentis alumnum,
cernere erat, per tota novem cui iugera corpus
porrigitur, rostroque immanis vultur obunco
immortale iecur tondens fecundaque poenis
viscera rimaturque epulis habitatque sub alto
pectore, nec fibris requies datur ulla renatis.
Quid memorem Lapithas, Ixiona, Pirithoumque?
quos super atra silex iam iam lapsura cadentique
imminet assimilis; lucent genialibus altis
aurea fulcra toris, epulaeque ante ora paratae
regifico luxu; Furiarum maxima iuxta
accubat et manibus prohibet contingere mensas,
exsurgitque facem attollens atque intonat ore.
Hic quibus invisi fratres, dum vita manebat,
pulsatusve parens et fraus innexa clienti,
aut qui divitiis soli incubuere repertis,
nec partem posuere suis, quae maxima turba est,
quique ob adulterium caesi, quique arma secuti
impia nec veriti dominorum fallere dextras,

inclusi poenam exspectant. Ne quaere doceri
quam poenam, aut quae forma viros fortunave mersit.
Saxum ingens volvunt alii, radiisque rotarum
districti pendent; sedet aeternumque sedebit
infelix Theseus; Phlegyasque miserrimus omnes
admonet et magna testatur voce per umbras:
"Discite iustitiam moniti et non temnere divos."
Vendidit hic auro patriam dominumque potentem
imposuit, fixit leges pretio atque refixit;
hic thalamum invasit natae vetitosque hymenaeos;
ausi omnes immane nefas ausoque potiti.
Non, mihi si linguae centum sint oraque centum,
ferrea vox, omnes scelerum comprendere formas,
omnia poenarum percurrere nomina possim.'
  Haec ubi dicta dedit Phoebi longaeva sacerdos,
'Sed iam age, carpe viam et susceptum perfice munus.
Acceleremus' ait: 'Cyclopum educta caminis
moenia conspicio atque adverso fornice portas,
haec ubi nos praecepta iubent deponere dona.'
Dixerat et pariter gressi per opaca viarum
corripiunt spatium medium foribusque propinquant.
Occupat Aeneas aditum corpusque recenti
spargit aqua ramumque adverso in limine figit.
  His demum exactis, perfecto munere divae,
devenere locos laetos et amoena virecta
fortunatorum nemorum sedesque beatas.
Largior hic campos aether et lumine vestit
purpureo, solemque suum, sua sidera norunt.
Pars in gramineis exercent membra palaestris,
contendunt ludo et fulva luctantur harena;
pars pedibus plaudunt choreas et carmina dicunt.
Nec non Threicius longa cum veste sacerdos
obloquitur numeris septem discrimina vocum,
iamque eadem digitis, iam pectine pulsat eburno.
Hic genus antiquum Teucri, pulcherrima proles,
magnanimi heroes, nati melioribus annis,
Ilusque Assaracusque et Troiae Dardanus auctor.
Arma procul currusque virum miratur inanes.
Stant terra defixae hastae, passimque soluti

per campum pascuntur equi. Quae gratia currum
armorumque fuit vivis, quae cura nitentes
pascere equos, eadem sequitur tellure repostos.
Conspicit ecce alios dextra laevaque per herbam
vescentes, laetumque choro paeana canentes,
inter odoratum lauri nemus, unde superne
plurimus Eridani per silvam volvitur amnis.
Hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi,
quique sacerdotes casti, dum vita manebat,
quique pii vates et Phoebo digna locuti,
inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes,
quique sui memores aliquos fecere merendo:
omnibus his nivea cinguntur tempora vitta.
Quos circumfusos sic est affata Sibylla,
Musaeum ante omnes (medium nam plurima turba
hunc habet atque umeris exstantem suspicit altis):
'Dicite, felices animae tuque, optime vates,
quae regio Anchisen, quis habet locus? Illius ergo
venimus et magnos Erebi tranavimus amnes.'
Atque hic responsum paucis ita reddidit heros:
'Nulli certa domus; lucis habitamus opacis,
riparumque toros et prata recentia rivis
incolimus. Sed vos, si fert ita corde voluntas,
hoc superate iugum, et facili iam tramite sistam.'
Dixit et ante tulit gressum camposque nitentes
desuper ostentat; dehinc summa cacumina linquunt.
At pater Anchises penitus convalle virenti
inclusas animas superumque ad lumen ituras
lustrabat studio recolens, omnemque suorum
forte recensebat numerum carosque nepotes,
fataque fortunasque virum moresque manusque.
Isque ubi tendentem adversum per gramina vidit
Aenean, alacris palmas utrasque tetendit,
effusaeque genis lacrimae et vox excidit ore:
'Venisti tandem, tuaque exspectata parenti
vicit iter durum pietas? datur ora tueri,
nate, tua et notas audire et reddere voces?
Sic equidem ducebam animo rebarque futurum
tempora dinumerans, nec me mea cura fefellit.

Quas ego te terras et quanta per aequora vectum
accipio, quantis iactatum, nate, periclis!
Quam metui, ne quid Libyae tibi regna nocerent!'
Ille autem 'Tua me, genitor, tua tristis imago
saepius occurrens haec limina tendere adegit;
stant sale Tyrrheno classes. Da iungere dextram,
da, genitor, teque amplexu ne subtrahe nostro.'
Sic memorans largo fletu simul ora rigabat.
Ter conatus ibi collo dare bracchia circum,
ter frustra comprensa manus effugit imago,
par levibus ventis volucrique simillima somno.
  Interea videt Aeneas in valle reducta
seclusum nemus et virgulta sonantia silvae,
Lethaeumque domos placidas qui praenatat amnem.
Hunc circum innumerae gentes populique volabant;
ac velut in pratis ubi apes aestate serena
floribus insidunt variis, et candida circum
lilia funduntur, strepit omnis murmure campus.
Horrescit visu subito causasque requirit
inscius Aeneas, quae sint ea flumina porro,
quive viri tanto complerint agmine ripas.
Tum pater Anchises 'Animae, quibus altera fato
corpora debentur, Lethaei ad fluminis undam
securos latices et longa oblivia potant.
Has equidem memorare tibi atque ostendere coram
iampridem, hanc prolem cupio enumerare meorum,
quo magis Italia mecum laetere reperta.'
'O pater, anne aliquas ad caelum hinc ire putandum est
sublimes animas iterumque ad tarda reverti
corpora? quae lucis miseris tam dira cupido?'
'Dicam equidem nec te suspensum, nate, tenebo.'
Suscipit Anchises, atque ordine singula pandit.
  'Principio caelum ac terram camposque liquentes
lucentemque globum lunae Titaniaque astra
spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
mens agitat molem et magno se corpore miscet.
Inde hominum pecudumque genus vitaeque volantum
et quae marmoreo fert monstra sub aequore pontus.
Igneus est ollis vigor et caelestis origo

seminibus, quantum non corpora noxia tardant
terrenique hebetant artus moribundaque membra.
Hinc metuunt cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque, neque auras
dispiciunt clausae tenebris et carcere caeco.
Quin et supremo cum lumine vita reliquit,
non tamen omne malum miseris nec funditus omnes
corporeae excedunt pestes, penitusque necesse est
multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris.
Ergo exercentur poenis veterumque malorum
supplicia expendunt. Aliae panduntur inanes
suspensae ad ventos, aliis sub gurgite vasto
infectum eluitur scelus aut exuritur igni:
quisque suos patimur manes; exinde per amplum
mittimur Elysium et pauci laeta arva tenemus;
donec longa dies, perfecto temporis orbe,
concretam exemit labem, purumque relinquit
aetherium sensum atque aurai simplicis ignem.
Has omnes, ubi mille rotam volvere per annos,
Lethaeum ad fluvium deus evocat agmine magno,
scilicet immemores supera ut convexa revisant
rursus et incipiant in corpora velle reverti.'
  Dixerat Anchises, natumque unaque Sibyllam
conventus trahit in medios turbamque sonantem,
et tumulum capit, unde omnes longo ordine posset
adversos legere et venientum discere vultus.
  'Nunc age, Dardaniam prolem quae deinde sequatur
gloria, qui maneant Itala de gente nepotes,
illustres animas nostrumque in nomen ituras,
expediam dictis et te tua fata docebo.
Ille, vides, pura iuvenis qui nititur hasta,
proxima sorte tenet lucis loca, primus ad auras
aetherias Italo commixtus sanguine surget,
Silvius, Albanum nomen, tua postuma proles,
quem tibi longaevo serum Lavinia coniunx
educet silvis regem regumque parentem,
unde genus Longa nostrum dominabitur Alba.
Proximus ille Procas, Troianae gloria gentis,
et Capys et Numitor et qui te nomine reddet
Silvius Aeneas, pariter pietate vel armis

egregius, si umquam regnandam acceperit Albam.
Qui iuvenes, quantas ostentant, aspice, vires,
atque umbrata gerunt civili tempora quercu!
Hi tibi Nomentum et Gabios urbemque Fidenam,
hi Collatinas imponent montibus arces,
Pometios Castrumque Inui Bolamque Coramque.
Haec tum nomina erunt, nunc sunt sine nomine terrae.
Quin et avo comitem sese Mavortius addet
Romulus, Assaraci quem sanguinis Ilia mater
educet. Viden' ut geminae stant vertice cristae
et pater ipse suo superum iam signat honore?
En huius, nate, auspiciis illa inclita Roma
imperium terris, animos aequabit Olympo,
septemque una sibi muro circumdabit arces,
felix prole virum: qualis Berecyntia mater
invehitur curru Phrygias turrita per urbes,
laeta deum partu, centum complexa nepotes,
omnes caelicolas, omnes supera alta tenentes.
Huc geminas nunc flecte acies, hanc aspice gentem
Romanosque tuos. Hic Caesar et omnis Iuli
progenies, magnum caeli ventura sub axem.
Hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis,
Augustus Caesar, Divi genus, aurea condet
saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arva
Saturno quondam, super et Garamantas et Indos
proferet imperium; iacet extra sidera tellus,
extra anni solisque vias, ubi caelifer Atlas
axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum.
Huius in adventum iam nunc et Caspia regna
responsis horrent divum et Maeotia tellus,
et septemgemini turbant trepida ostia Nili.
Nec vero Alcides tantum telluris obivit,
fixerit aeripedem cervam licet, aut Erymanthi
pacarit nemora, et Lernam tremefecerit arcu,
nec qui pampineis victor iuga flectit habenis
Liber, agens celso Nysae de vertice tigres.
Et dubitamus adhuc virtute extendere vires,
aut metus Ausonia prohibet consistere terra?
Quis procul ille autem ramis insignis olivae

sacra ferens? nosco crines incanaque menta
regis Romani, primam qui legibus urbem
fundabit, Curibus parvis et paupere terra
missus in imperium magnum. Cui deinde subibit
otia qui rumpet patriae, residesque movebit
Tullus in arma viros et iam desueta triumphis
agmina. Quem iuxta sequitur iactantior Ancus,
nunc quoque iam nimium gaudens popularibus auris.
Vis et Tarquinios reges animamque superbam
ultoris Bruti fascesque videre receptos?
Consulis imperium hic primus saevasque secures
accipiet, natosque pater nova bella moventes
ad poenam pulchra pro libertate vocabit,
infelix. Utcumque ferent ea facta minores,
vincet amor patriae laudumque immensa cupido.
Quin Decios Drusosque procul saevumque securi
aspice Torquatum et referentem signa Camillum.
Illae autem, paribus quas fulgere cernis in armis
concordes animae nunc et dum nocte premuntur,
heu quantum inter se bellum, si lumina vitae
attigerint, quantas acies stragemque ciebunt,
aggeribus socer Alpinis atque arce Monoeci
descendens, gener adversis instructus Eois!
Ne, pueri, ne tanta animis assuescite bella,
neu patriae validas in viscera vertite vires;
tuque prior, tu parce, genus qui ducis Olympo;
proiice tela manu, sanguis meus.
Ille triumphata Capitolia ad alta Corintho
victor aget currum, caesis insignis Achivis.
Eruet ille Argos Agamemnoniasque Mycenas
ipsumque Aeaciden, genus armipotentis Achilli,
ultus avos Troiae templa et temerata Minervae.
Quis te, magne Cato, tacitum aut te, Cosse, relinquat?
Quis Gracchi genus aut geminos, duo fulmina belli,
Scipiadas, cladem Libyae, parvoque potentem
Fabricium vel te sulco, Serrane, serentem?
Quo fessum rapitis, Fabii? Tu Maximus ille es,
unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem.
Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera,

credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus,
orabunt causas melius, caelique meatus
describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent:
tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;
hae tibi erunt artes; pacisque imponere morem,
parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.'
  Sic pater Anchises, atque haec mirantibus addit:
'Aspice ut insignis spoliis Marcellus opimis
ingreditur, victorque viros supereminet omnes!
Hic rem Romanam magno turbante tumultu
sistet, eques sternet Poenos Gallumque rebellem,
tertiaque arma patri suspendet capta Quirino.'
Atque hic Aeneas (una namque ire videbat
egregium forma iuvenem et fulgentibus armis,
sed frons laeta parum et deiecto lumina vultu):
'Quis, pater, ille, virum qui sic comitatur euntem?
filius, anne aliquis magna de stirpe nepotum?
Qui strepitus circa comitum! quantum instar in ipso!
Sed nox atra caput tristi circumvolat umbra.'
Tum pater Anchises lacrimis ingressus obortis:
'O nate, ingentem luctum ne quaere tuorum.
Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata neque ultra
esse sinent. Nimium vobis Romana propago
visa potens, superi, propria haec si dona fuissent.
Quantos ille virum magnam Mavortis ad urbem
campus aget gemitus! vel quae, Tiberine, videbis
funera, cum tumulum praeterlabere recentem!
Nec puer Iliaca quisquam de gente Latinos
in tantum spe tollet avos, nec Romula quondam
ullo se tantum tellus iactabit alumno.
Heu pietas, heu prisca fides invictaque bello
dextera! Non illi se quisquam impune tulisset
obvius armato, seu cum pedes iret in hostem
seu spumantis equi foderet calcaribus armos.
Heu miserande puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas,
tu Marcellus eris. Manibus date lilia plenis;
purpureos spargam flores, animamque nepotis
his saltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani

munere.' Sic tota passim regione vagantur
aëris in campis latis atque omnia lustrant.
Quae postquam Anchises natum per singula duxit,
incenditque animum famae venientis amore,
exin bella viro memorat quae deinde gerenda,
Laurentesque docet populos urbemque Latini,
et quo quemque modo fugiatque feratque laborem.
Sunt geminae Somni portae; quarum altera fertur
cornea, qua veris facilis datur exitus umbris,
altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto,
sed falsa ad caelum mittunt insomnia Manes.
His ibi tum natum Anchises unaque Sibyllam
prosequitur dictis portaque emittit eburna:
ille viam secat ad naves sociosque revisit;
tum se ad Caietae recto fert litore portum.
Ancora de prora iacitur; stant litore puppes.

AENEID.

NOTES TO BOOK IV.

The thread of the story, interrupted by the episode of Aeneas' narrative in Books II and III, is now resumed with the tale of Dido's fatal passion, already indicated at the close of Book I. The development of her love and its result are first described (ll. 1–172): Aeneas, too, is half-won by her to stay (see ll. 332, 395, 458, etc.), but is called away by the commands of Jupiter (ll. 223 sqq.) and the visions of his father's shade (ll. 351 sqq.) to fulfil his mission in Italy. He prepares to start, firm against the prayers and reproaches of the unhappy queen, who at last resolves on death; the steps by which she is driven to her end being worked out in the latter part of the book, ll. 416–705, in the spirit of the ἄτη of Greek tragedy. The struggle of individual passion against the will of heaven is the key-note throughout—the same kind of struggle as is represented, for example, in the 'Ajax' of Sophocles; and with the same sort of result, strange to our modern notions of right and wrong, in which the mere assertion of overwhelming power over human will, independently of any moral issues, is the end of all. The delineation of individual character is subordinate to the exhibition of the conflict of great forces: and the criticisms which modern feeling passes upon such an act as the desertion of Dido are, from the point of view of Greek or Roman epic, beside the question. From that point of view it is no drawback to the heroic presentment of Aeneas, that, like Ulysses, he deserts her who has given him all that a woman can give: his only fault is in remaining when Heaven bids him go. Nor, though Virgil in his powerful picture of Dido's grief and despair strikes a more modern note, and arouses our sympathy for the forsaken heroine, need we suppose that such was his intention, or such the effect upon Roman readers. For them and him Dido symbolised Carthage, as Aeneas symbolised Rome: and her fate, to Roman eyes, was only right, an echo of the old cry *Delenda est Carthago.*

No part of the Aeneid is a better sample of Virgil's poetical power; and none exhibits more clearly his originality in the treatment of epic material. The passion of Dido is suggested by that of Medea in the 'Argonautica' (Book III) of Apollonius Rhodius: but whereas Apollonius dwells on Medea before her marriage, resigning home under the influence of enchant-

ments stronger than her own, Virgil concentrates all his power on the description of Dido in her abandonment and despair, passing over the earlier stages of her fatal love. For a more detailed discussion of this and other features of Virgil's story the reader is referred to Conington, 'General Introduction to the Aeneid,' and Nettleship, 'Suggestions,' pp. 31–37.

2. **venis**, instr. abl., 'with her veins.' **caeco**, 'hidden;' so Aen. i. 536 *vada caeca.*

3. **multa**, virtually adverbial with **recursat**, 'oft rises to her thought the hero's worth, the glories of his line.'

6. **lustrabat**, 'was traversing.'

8. **unanimam** = sympathising, 'the sister of her heart.' **male sana** = *insana*, 'sick in soul;' so Aen. ii. 23 *male fida;* Georg. i. 105 *male pinguis.*

10, 11. **novus**, 'unwonted.' **quem sese**, etc., 'with what a mien! how stout his frame and martial might!' **armis**, from *arma*, as x. 735 *haud furto melior, sed fortibus armis;* though Con. takes it = 'shoulders' from *armus*, and refers the whole description to Aeneas' person.

13. 'Fear proves a base-born soul: but he—by what fates was he tossed! what wars endured did he narrate!' **degeneres** here, as often, is used, not of persons who have degenerated from noble ancestors, but of persons of low birth; cp. Tac. Ann. vi. 42 *probra in Artabanum fundebant, materna origine Arsacidem, cetera degenerem.*

15–19. **sederet**, of her present resolve; **pertaesum fuisset**, of her past experience. **vellem**, petitio obliqua after **sederet**. **potui**; this use of indic. for the more usual subj. in conditional sentences is frequent with such verbs as *potui, debui, oportuit, licuit*, constructed with an infinitive; where the meaning is much the same as that which would have been expressed by a single verb in the subjunctive. Thus *potui succumbere* is more or less = *succubuissem*. Cp. Juv. x. 123 *Antoni gladios potuit contemnere, si sic Omnia dixisset*; Ter. And. iv. 2. 8 *potuerat quiesci, si hic quiesset*; Sall. Jug. 85 *Si victoria, praeda, laus dubia essent, tamen omnes bonos reipublicae subvenire decebat.*

21–23. **caede**, i.e. of Sychaeus, Dido's first husband, i. 348 sqq. **fraterna** either = 'by a brother,' i.e. Pygmalion; or 'a brother's blood,' Sychaeus being Pygmalion's brother-in-law. The latter seems simplest. **labantem**, proleptic with **impulit**, 'has shaken my resolution till it totters' (Con.).

24, 25. 'But I would have (**optem**, potential) earth itself yawn for me to its depths (**ima**).' **dehiscat, abigat**, petitio obliqua after **optem**.

26, 27. **Erebo**, 'in Erebus,' has the best MS. authority; cp. vii. 140 *duplices caeloque Ereboque parentes.* The other reading 'Erebi' is adopted by Con. **ante** repeats **prius** in l. 24; cp. πρὶν . . . πρὶν ἤ Hom. Il. i. 97, vii. 481, etc. The indicatives **violo, resolvo** state this result as a fact

rather than a purpose (*violem*). Dido says, 'May I die before dishonour *comes*' (not *shall* or *may* come); and the mood employed indicates a presentiment that it *is* coming. She sees before her eyes a possibility of falling away from her first love. **Pudor,** 'honour,' as below l. 322.

30. sinum, 'her bosom.' Dido's tears betray the working of her mind, already full of the passion which she thinks to avert by prayers.

31–34. o luce, etc., 'O dearer to a sister's eyes than light, will you waste and pine in loneliness throughout your prime, nor know sweet children and the joys of love? Think you the ashes and spirit of the dead take note of this?' **carpere,** cp. l. 2 above. **id . . . sepultos** = 'can it gratify the dead Sychaeus that you should remain a widow?'

35. aegram, 'in your sorrow.' **mariti,** 'suitors.' So *gener* is used (Aen. ii. 344) of a prospective son-in-law.

36. Libyae, locative **Tyro,** local ablative.

38. placito, 'welcome,' as opposed to the suit of Iarbas and others.

40–44. genus, in apposition to **urbes,** cp. i. 339 *at fines Libyci, genus intractabile bello.* **infreni,** 'that ride without bridles,' i. e. bold and skilful horsemen. **siti,** instr. abl., 'through drought.' **Barcaei** is an anachronism, Barce having been founded many years later; cp. Hdt. iv. 160.

48. coniugio tali, abl. of circumstance, 'with such a marriage.'

49. rebus, 'fortune,' or 'state;' as in *res prosperae,* etc.

50–53. veniam, 'grace.' **litatis,** of favourable sacrifice. **indulge hospitio,** 'let kindness have free way;' cp. ix. 165 *indulgent vino*; Cic. Am. 15 *veteres amicitias spernere, indulgere novis.* **desaevit,** 'rages fiercely,' *de-* being intensive, as in *derigesco, deposcor, demiror, deiero,* etc. **non tractabile,** 'unyielding.'

54 sqq. Dido's scruples are soothed by Anna's advice, and she lets her passion have its way. **his dictis,** abl. of circumstance, 'with these words.'

55. solvit pudorem, 'banished shame' or 'modesty.'

56–60. pacem, 'pardon,' 'favour;' cp. Aen. iii. 370 *exorat pacem divum.* **per aras,** 'among' and so 'at all the altars.' **legiferae** = *θεσμοφόρῳ*, a title of Demeter, Hdt. vi. 91. **Lyaeo** = Λυαίῳ (λύειν), and corresponds to the Italian 'Liber.' Virgil makes Dido sacrifice, 'in the true spirit of tragic irony, . . . to Ceres, Apollo, and Lyaeus, the deities presiding over the foundation of cities and the giving of laws, when she is forgetting her duty as a queen; to Juno the goddess of marriage, when she is forgetting her faith to her husband' (Nettleship, 'Suggestions,' p 33).

63, 64. instaurat, 'celebrates,' makes the day a festival with gifts. Properly = 'renew' (as v. 94, viii. 283); and then in connection with sacred rites, from which the idea of recurrence is inseparable, it = *sollemnem facere;* cp. iii. 62 *ergo instauramus Polydoro funus;* Liv. xxvii. 36. 9 *eo anno primum* (B. C. 208) *memoriae proditum est . . . ludos Romanos semel instau-*

ratos ab aedilibus curalibus. **inhians,** 'poring over.' **spirantia,** 'ye quivering.' **pectoribūs,** final short syllables are occasionally lengthened by Virgil in arsi, or the emphatic syllable of a foot, as an antiquarian ornament, in imitation of the older poets. Such syllables were, in general, originally long, but were subsequently shortened in accordance with a tendency of the Latin language. Cp. Aen. v. 853 *nusquam amittebat oculosque*, etc., Georg. iv. 92 *melior insignis*. See also Introd. p. 16.

65–67. ignarae, i. e. 'blind' to the real state of Dido, who is already beyond their help. **est** = *edit*. For **molles,** cp. Catull. xlv. 16 *Ignis mollibus ardet in medullis,* i. e. 'melting' under the effect of passion. **interea,** 'all the while.'

69–73. qualis, etc., 'like a doe struck by an arrow-shot, whom unawares some countryman, a-hunting with his bow amid the Cretan woods, has shot at from afar, and left his winged steel unknowing of his prize: she scours in flight the woods and glades of Dicte, the deadly shaft still sticking in her side.' Note the variety of expression in **sagitta, telis, ferrum, harundo**; cp. i. 175, ii. 453. **agens telis,** i. e. 'driving with his bow and arrows.' **nescius,** i. e. 'not knowing' that he has hit, owing to the distance and the trees.

75. Sidonias, 'Carthaginian,' Carthage being a Phoenician colony.

77. eadem, probably with **convivia,** 'the banquet of yesterday' (Con.), though it might be applied to Dido, 'now in turn,' etc.

80–83. 'Then, when all have gone, and the moon in turn veils her light in darkness (as the sun had done *labente die*) and the setting stars invite repose, alone she sorrows in the empty hall, throwing herself on the couch where he has lain: he is not there, yet still she sees his face and hears his voice.' For the rhetorical (and pathetic) iteration **absens absentem** cp. iii. 383; Plaut. Most. v. 1. 27 *adsum praesens praesenti tibi.*

84. capta, nom. sing., 'charmed by the likeness to his sire.'

87. propugnacula bello tuta, 'bastions for safety in war.'

88, 89. pendent, etc., 'idle hang the works thus broken off; huge threatening walls, and cranes that tower to heaven.' The picture seems to be that of cranes or other implements standing idle on the unfinished walls.

90 sqq. Juno, seeing Dido's state, suggests to Venus that Aeneas should wed her, and set up the Trojan kingdom at Carthage; thus hoping to keep him from Italy (l. 106). The idea is from Apoll. Rhod. iii. 6 sqq., where Hera and Athene beg Aphrodite to inspire Medea with love for Jason.

91. nec famam, 'and that honour is no bar to her passion.'

93–95. egregiam, ironical; so also **magnum et memorabile.** MSS. give **numen,** i. e. 'your power;' but early editions *nomen* = 'fame' or 'renown,' which Con. is possibly justified in retaining, the two words being also confused in v. 768. Either reading is nom. to *est* understood.

96. adeo seems to emphasize the clause, as in Ecl. ii. 25, 'I am not so

blind after all.' Virgil imitates Lucr. i. 136, 922 *nec me animi fallit*, substituting *adeō* for *animi*.

98. 'But what shall be the end (limit, cp. Ecl. x. 28 *ecquis erit modus*), or whither shall such conflict lead?' (i. e. *quorsum progrediemini certamine vestro?* Forb.). For **quo** cp. Ecl. i. 72 *en quo discordia cives produxit miseros*. Kenn. adopts the conjecture *certamina tanta* (sc. *exercemus*).

99, 100. quin . . . exercemus? 'Let us rather work a lasting peace;' for *quin* in remonstrances = 'why not?' cp. Ecl. ii. 71 *quin tu . . . paras?*

102. 'With common sway and joint authority let us rule this people;' *auspicia habere* was the prerogative of Roman magistrates, hence *auspicia* here = 'power.'

104. dotales, 'in dower.'

105. simulata mente, 'with assumed feeling.' **enim** gives the reason why Venus also speaks craftily.

110. fatis incerta feror, 'I am moved with doubt by the fates;' cp. l. 376 *furiis incensa feror*. In such phrases *feror* has the sense of 'being carried along.' **si,** 'whether.'

114, 115. excepit, 'replied,' i. e. took up the conversation. **mecum erit,** etc., 'that toil shall rest with me;' cp. Phaedr. ii. 5. 25 *Multo maioris alapae mecum veneunt;* Sil. Ital. viii. 330 *Mecum erit haec prorsus pietas*. **quod instat,** 'our design.'

119. retexerit, 'has uncovered' (*retego*).

121. 'While the horsemen are hurrying to and fro, and enclosing the wood with a circle of snares.' **alae,** squadrons of horsemen, here used of the huntsmen employed to drive the game. They were probably the same as the *alatores*, mentioned by Isidor. Orig. 10 as a class of huntsmen. Some editors explain *alae* as the red feathers used to scare the game, see Georg. iii. 372. But Sil. Ital. (ii. 419) in describing this scene uses the expression *alae venantum*, showing that he understood the word to denote 'horsemen.'

125. certa, predicate, 'if I may rely on your compliance.' Juno would be present as the goddess of marriage. Line 126 is repeated from i. 73.

127. hic hymenaeus erit, 'this shall be their wedlock.' The words might mean 'here shall the god Hymen be,' but this is not so probable.

128. dolis repertis, abl. abs., 'in her discernment of the fraud' (**dolis**, sc. *Iunonis*). Some, wrongly restricting *reperio* to the meaning 'invent' or 'create,' render 'laughed at the trick devised' (by Juno or herself).

130. iubare exorto, 'when daylight had dawned.' As *iubar* often means 'the morning star,' Con. takes it in that sense here, but with less probability.

131, 132. rara, 'open,' a fixed epithet of nets, as distinct from close-woven fabrics; cp. Hor. Epod. ii. 33, where *rara retia* are set for small birds, so that it cannot = 'wide-meshed' (Forb.). As a military term *rari*,

'in open order,' is opposed to *conferti* = 'in close order.' **ruunt**, by zeugma with **retia, plagae, venabula.** **odora canum vis**, 'keen scenting hounds,' a periphrasis analogous to the use of *βία, μένος* in Greek; used by Lucr. iv. 683 *promissa canum vis.* There seems to be no other example of *odorus* meaning 'sharp-scented.'

137. chlamydem circumdata, 'with cloak thrown round her,' an imitation of the Greek Middle, not uncommon in Latin poetry: cp. Hor. Sat. i. 6. 74 *laevo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto;* Ov. Met. ii. 425 *induitur faciem cultumque Dianae.*

138, 139. crines, etc., 'her hair is tied in a golden knot, a golden clasp fastens up her purple cloak.'

142. agmina iungit, 'joins the train,' lit. 'joins it to himself:' so Aen. ii. 267 *agmina conscia iungunt.*

143–149. For the story of Apollo's journeyings see Con. note. **hibernam**, 'his winter home.' **instaurat**, 'holds festal dances;' see above l. 63. **premit fingens**, 'presses and trains.' On statues of Apollo the long flowing hair is carefully arranged into shape by a 'wreath' of bay (**fronde**) and a 'diadem' or 'circlet' (**auro**).

152. deiectae, 'driven down' (towards the hunters).

153. iugis, 'down the slopes,' local abl.

154. transmittunt, 'scour the plains in flight.'

158. votis, dat. with **dari**, 'to be granted to his prayer.' **inertia**, 'unresisting.'

160. misceri, 'is convulsed with loud uproar.'

164. tecta, 'places of shelter.'

166–168. 'Earth first, and Juno bride-escorting, gave the sign; fires flashed and heaven blazed in sympathy at the bridal; on the mountain-tops the nymphs raised their shout.' The different parts of a wedding-solemnity are here represented. The lightning answers to the lifting of the torches; the shouts of the nymphs to the nuptial *ὀλολυγμός.* **prima**, adverbial. **pronuba**, a matron who attended on the bride. **conūbiis**, a trisyllable, by synizesis.

170, 171. neque enim, 'she heeds not the eyes or tongues of men; 'tis no longer on secret love that her heart is set.' **specie**, 'appearances.'

174 sqq. The hint for this celebrated description of Fame comes from Homer's personifications of *Ὄσσα* (Rumour) Il. ii. 93, Od. xxiv. 412: but the detail is mainly Virgil's own.

175. 'Her motion lends her force, and she gathers strength as she goes.'

176. 'Small at first through fear,' **primo** being adverbial. Cp. Homer's description of *Ἔρις* ('Strife'), Il. iv. 442, 443 *Ἥτ' ὀλίγη μὲν πρῶτα κορύσσεται, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα Οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξε κάρη καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει.*

178. deorum, objective gen., 'anger against the gods,' because they had thrust down her offspring the Titans to Tartarus. **Coeus**, a Titan, **Enceladus**, a giant, both sons of Earth.

184. caeli medio terraeque, 'midway between heaven and earth.'

185–187. stridens, 'hurtling.' **declinat,** 'droops.' **custos,** 'a spy.' **tecti, turribus** point to the interference of Fame in private and public affairs.

193–195. quam longa (sc. *est*), 'all its length;' cp. viii. 36. **luxu fovere,** 'are passing in comfortable ease.' *fovere*, lit. to 'warm,' or 'cherish;' hence, of a period of time, to pass it in a luxurious manner. **captos,** 'enthralled by shameful love.' **foeda,** with **dea,** 'the loathsome goddess.'

198. 'He, the son of Ammon, from the embrace of a Garamantian nymph.'

201. excubias, in apposition to **ignem,** 'the gods' unceasing sentry,' i. e. fire was always kept burning in honour of the gods.

202. solum and **limina** are nominatives.

203, 204. animi, 'in heart,' is used frequently in Latin with verbs and adjectives of feeling (e. g. *angere*, *discruciare*, *fallere*, *aeger*, *dubius*, *furens*, etc.), and is probably a survival of the old locative, and not merely a gen. of reference, like *seri studioram*, etc. **numina,** 'the presence of the gods.'

206, 207. nunc, i. e. 'since I (Iarbas) have introduced thy worship.' **epulata,** 'feasting:' the perfect part. being occasionally used with a present force, cp. Aen. v. 708 *isque his Aenean solatus vocibus infit*, viii. 636 *magnis Circensibus actis*. **Lenaeum honorem,** 'an offering of wine;' cp. i. 736 *laticum honorem*.

209, 210. The emphasis is on **nequiquam, caeci, inania.** 'Is our terror vain; aimless the lightnings that appal our souls, and idle their thunder-roll?' **caeci,** 'blind,' 'random;' so *caeca vestigia* vi. 30. **miscent,** of the 'confused' rolling of thunder.

212, 213. cui litus, etc., 'to whom we have given this shore to till, and laws to bind her in its use' (*cui sub certa lege locum concessi, ut dominus*'—Gossrau). Iarbas pretends to view Dido as holding under him. For the legal phrase *lex loci* see the Lex Agraria of 110 B.C. (Corp. Insc. Lat. 200) line 85, where the Censors are said *agri, aedifici, loci . . . legem dicere*, to the tenants—i. e. to prescribe the conditions of tenure.

216, 217. 'Supporting with a Lydian ribbon his chin and anointed locks.' The **mitra** was a broad band of cloth, sometimes wound round the hair, sometimes, as here, tied under the chin. **subnixus,** so the MSS. Ribbeck, however, reads *subnexus* from one Leyden MS. of later than the 10th century. 'Tying' is no doubt a more natural idea than 'supporting:' but this, on the principle *potior lectio difficillima*, gives additional force to the overwhelming testimony of MSS. for **subnixus.** Moreover, the notion of his effeminate chin being 'supported' by a band is in harmony with the contemptuous scorn of the passage.

218. quippe qualifies ironically the whole clause—'we, forsooth, are bringing gifts to thy temple, and cherishing an idle belief.' **famam,** the

general report that Jupiter is a powerful god, disproved (says Iarbas) by events.

220–237. Jupiter sends Mercurius to recall Aeneas to a remembrance of his mission to Italy; a divine command which justifies the subsequent desertion of Dido.

223–225. voca Zephyros, 'call the winds' (to aid thy flight); cp. *ventis vocatis* v. 211. Others less probably explain, to aid Aeneas' voyage. **exspectat,** intrans., as *avertit* i. 104, *praecipitare* ii. 9, iv. 251, *rotare* x. 362, and other examples cited by Gossrau on i. 104. *Exspecto* is common enough with an object-clause following (e. g. *rusticus exspectat, dum defluat amnis* Hor. Epp. i. 2. 42); and Virgil's use of it here is but a slight extension of that use.

227–231. 'No laggard, I ween, did his fair mother pledge her son to be; 'twas not for this she snatched him twice from Grecian arms: no, but a chief to rule Italy big with empire and fierce in war, to hand on the race of Teucer's lofty line, and bring the world beneath its sway.' **talem,** *ut Carthagine exspectaret.* **bis,** from Diomede, Iliad v. 311 sqq., and from the Greeks at the fall of Troy, Aen. ii. 589 sqq. **vindicat,** historic present. **gravidam imperiis** obviously refers to the future of Italy, which is as it were pregnant with future destinies. The plur. **imperiis** is perhaps only a poetical hyperbole.

232–234. If he cares not for himself, he must not harm his son's prospects. **super sua laude,** 'for his own fair fame.' The insertion of **ipse** is like Greek πρὸς αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ, and is frequent (metri gratia) in Ovid's pentameters, e. g. Am. i. 7. 26 *poenam fortis in ipse meam,* Her. 12. 18 *Ut caderet cultu cultor ab ipse suo.*

235. Notice the hiatus after **spe.** The license is not uncommon in Virgil, but is mostly confined to syllables in arsi, and occurs at one of the important caesurae, or is justified by a distinct pause in the sense: e.g. Aen. x. 141 *Maeonia generose domo, ubi,* etc., iii. 606 *si pereo, hominum manibus,* etc. See Introd. p. 17.

236. prolem Ausoniam, 'the Ausonian family,' i. e. the future Romans.

237. 'Let him sail: that word says all (lit. this is the point); be this our message.' **nuntius,** as viii. 582 *gravior ne nuntius aures vulneret*; Cat. lxxxiv. 10 *Cum subito affertur nuntius horribilis.* Others explain, 'be thou our herald of this message,' **hic** being then = *de hac re,* just as *ea signa* (Aen. ii. 171) = *signa eius rei.* But it is surely better to give **hic** a parallel sense to the preceding **haec.**

239–241. talaria, 'anklets,' i. e. the winged sandals with which Mercury is generally represented. Homer, in the passages which Virgil here follows (Il. xxiv. 339 sqq., Od. v. 43 sqq.), calls them merely πέδιλα. **rapido pariter cum flamine,** 'along with the swift wind,' i. e. 'with the swiftness of the wind.'

244. lumina morte resignat, 'unseals the eyes at death,' i. e. 'unseals

the eyes of the dead,' in reference to the Roman custom of opening the eyes of a corpse (closed as usual after death) when on the funeral pyre, that the spirit might see its way to Hades. This act is nowhere else attributed to Mercury as ψυχοπομπός, but would not be unappropriate. Other renderings are (1) 'unseals the eyes from death,' i. e. 'raises to life again,' a harsh use of the ablative. (2) 'Seals up the eyes in death:' but there is no authority for such a meaning of *resignare*.

247. **duri**, probably 'patient,' in reference to the load which Atlas had to bear eternally.

249. **piniferum**, a natural epithet of a mountain; but there seem to be no pines in Africa.

251. **praecipitant**, intrans., see on l. 225 above.

252. **paribus nitens alis**, 'poising himself on even wing.'

256–258. 'Just so he flew 'twixt heaven and earth towards the sandy coast of Libya and clove the winds in his course, as he came from his mother's sire (i. e. Atlas, Maia being one of the Pleiades), e'en he, Cyllene's offspring.' Ribbeck restores *ad* from some copies, perhaps rightly; but the word has rather the appearance of having been inserted as a correction. Without *ad*, **litus harenosum** is accus. of motion towards; or possibly (as Dr. Kennedy suggests) **volabat litus** is like *currimus aequor*, i. e. '"over" or "along" the shore.' The expedient of separating **litus harenosum** from **volabat**, and making **litus . . . ventosque secabat** = *volabat inter*, i. e. a mere repetition of the previous line, introduces a fresh difficulty (in the meaning of **secabat**) without improvement in sense. Bentley's emendation, *legebat* for *volabat*, is ingenious, but unnecessary.

259. **māgalia**, a Carthaginian word.

260. **tecta novantem**, 'building new houses.'

261. Alluded to by Juv. v. 45 *Nam Virro, ut multi, gemmas ad pocula transfert A digitis, quas in vaginae fronte solebat Ponere zelotypo iuvenis praelatus Iarbae.*

264. 'And had varied the web with threads of gold.'

265. **invadit**, 'attacks him' (with words, as *aggreditur dictis* l. 92), and so 'addresses sternly' (Kenn.).

269. **torquet**, 'guides,' 'directs;' cp. xii. 180 *cuncta tuo qui bella, pater, sub numine torques.*

271. **teris . . . terris**, a jingle, probably intentional; cp. *cănit . . . cānentem* x. 191–192, 417, 418; and *pārere părabat* above l. 238.

273. In most of the best MSS. this line is either omitted or has been added afterwards. It might have either slipped in, or dropped out, from a transcriber's more or less perfect recollection of Jupiter's speech (l. 233 above): and, in the absence of clearer evidence, may be retained for convenience of notation.

274. **spes Iuli**, 'the promise of your heir Iulus,' lit. 'hope afforded by (gen. of subject).

277. **medio sermone**, 'in mid discourse,' expresses the suddenness of Mercury's disappearance. Servius' explanation, 'half-way through the dialogue,' i. e. without Aeneas replying, is over-ingenious.

283–284. The thoughts that pass through the mind of Aeneas are expressed in a sort of oratio obliqua. **ambire**, to approach in a conciliatory manner, a word used of candidates canvassing for votes. 'With what address can he approach the maddened queen? what first beginning can he make?'

285, 286. These lines recur viii. 20, 21. Line 286 is omitted by some MSS. **dividit** = 'to send in different directions;' cp. Catull. lxii. 15 *nos alio mentes, alio divisimus aures* ('have let our minds diverge one way, our ears another'). Tennyson's imitation, 'this way and that dividing his swift thought,' does not bring out this force of **divido**.

287. 'Then as he thought on each this seemed the wiser plan:' Ὧδε δέ οἱ φρονέοντι δοάσσατο κέρδιον εἶναι Iliad xiv. 23.

289–294. **aptent**, etc. subj. of petitio obliqua dependent on the command implied in **vocat. sese interea . . . temptaturum** is ordinary oratio obliqua, dependent on the idea of simple statement implied in **vocat.** 'He bids them find out, etc. . . .; saying that he himself, etc.' **temptaturum** is used in slightly different senses in the two clauses: he will try to approach Dido, and try to find out the best time for addressing her. **quis . . . modus**, 'what the happiest course for his need.' For **modus** = *ratio* cp. xii. 157 *fratrem, si quis modus, eripe morti.*

297–299. **motusque**, etc., 'caught at once the sound of the coming change, fearing where all seemed safe. Once more fell Fame brings news that maddens her heart, of ships equipped and mustering crews.' **omnia tuta timens**, with a lover's anxiety she was afraid when all seemed safe, much more when there was a suspicion of danger. **eadem**, the same which had previously spread the report of her shame, l. 173 foll. It might be taken as acc. plur. ('rumour confirms her fears'); but this is less probable.

300. **inops animi**, 'in impotence of mind,' see on line 203 above.

301–303. 'Like a Bacchanal, roused by the stir of the sacred emblems, when the cry of Bacchus is heard, and the triennial rites goad her to frenzy, and Cithaeron calls her with shouts by night.' **sacris**, the thyrsus, cista, statue of the god, etc. carried in the Bacchanal processions and violently shaken; cp. Hor. Od. i. 18. 11 *non ego te, candide Bassareu, Invitum quatiam.* **trieterica**, the great triennial festival of Bacchus at Thebes.

306. **tacitus decedere**, the simple infinitive with the nominative is substituted for the acc. and infin., the ordinary construction after *spero.*

311–314. The stress is on **Troia**: 'What! if 'twere no strange soil, no new home that you were seeking, if the Troy of other days were standing yet, would you make even for Troy across yon heaving main? Flying—and from *me*?' **per ego has lacrimas . . . te**, cp. for the order of the words the Greek πρὸς σὲ θεῶν κ.τ.λ. The verb of entreaty is omitted.

316–318. **conubia**, the furtive union; **hymenaeos**, the wedlock to which she hoped it was a prelude—hence **inceptos. fuit aut . . . meum**, 'if aught in me was pleasant in your eyes.'

321–323. 'For your sake too mine honour has been quenched, and the good name of old, mine only passport to heaven. **sidera adibam**, 'I was approaching, i. e. had a chance of rising to, immortality.'

325. **quid moror**, 'why do I delay (to die)?'

327. **suscepta**, lit. 'raised;' properly (like *tollere*) of a father acknowledging his offspring by the symbolical action of lifting it from the ground, Ter. And. i. 3. 14 *quicquid peperisset, decreverunt tollere.* Used by Plautus, as here, of the mother (Plaut. Epid. iv. 1. 34 *filiam quam ex te suscepi*).

328, 329. **parvulus Aeneas**, perhaps from Catull. lxi. 216 *Torquatus volo parvulus . . . Dulce rideat ad patrem.* Juvenal's allusion is well known (v. 138) *nullus tibi parvulus aula Luserit Aeneas, nec filia dulcior illo.* **tamen**, 'after all.' For **referret** ('recall to mind') cp. Juv. i. 66 *multum referens de Maecenate.*

333–335. 'Never, O queen, will I deny any one of all the claims to gratitude that you can mention.'

337. **pro re**, 'as the case requires,' i. e. I need say but little.

338–339. 'I never held forth a bridegroom's torch: this was not the alliance into which I entered.'

341. **meis auspiciis**, 'at my own will,' a military metaphor, the imperator being the person to take the auspices, and hence acting *suis auspiciis.* **componere**, 'settle my troubles.'

343, 344. **manerent**, of the present result, 'would still be standing;' **posuissem**, of a past contingency, 'I should ere now have built.' **recidiva**, 'revived' or 'restored'—a Virgilian use (cp. vii. 322, x. 58) of the word, which elsewhere = 'recurring,' e.g. of a fever (Celsus, circ. 37 A.D.). **manu** is almost pleonastic, though perhaps just suggesting the idea of personal effort.

346. **Lyciae sortes**, 'Lycian oracles.' Apollo was worshipped at Patara in Lycia. There is no mention elsewhere in the Aeneid of oracles given to Aeneas in Lycia.

347. **hic**, i.e. Italy, the pronoun, as usual, being attracted to the substantive; so Aen. vi. 129 *hoc opus, hic labor est.*

349, 350. **quae . . . invidia est**, lit. 'what jealousy is there?' i.e. 'why should jealousy forbid?'

353–355. **turbida**, 'troubled.' **capitis iniuria cari**, 'the wrong to one so dear.' **caput**, like *κάρα, κεφαλή* = 'a person,' cp. *ridiculum caput!* Ter. And. ii. 2. 34, *tam cari capitis* Hor. Od. i. 24. 2, and with numeral adj. (like our so many 'head' or 'souls'), *quot capitum vivunt* Hor. Sat. ii. 1. 27. **fatalibus**, 'destined.'

357. **caput**, as above, 'I call us both to witness.'

362–364. **iamdudum**, 'long ere he had finished was she gazing,' etc.

Dido looks at him askance (**aversa**) throughout his speech, and bursts out at the end of it. **tacitis**, unaccompanied by words, 'with silent glances.'

368. **maiora**, sc. *mala*.

371. **quae quibus anteferam**, 'what shall I say first? what last?'

372. **aequis**, 'just.' She charges the gods with cruelty.

373. **nusquam**, etc., 'nowhere is there faith to be trusted.'

376. **feror**, see l. 110 above.

379. 'Aye, Gods above ply tasks like these,
Such cares disturb their life of ease.' (Con.)

Note the bitter irony of Dido's words. **quietos**, Homer's θεοὶ ῥεῖα ζώοντες Od. v. 122.

382. **pia**, 'kind;' cp. *pietas* (*deorum*) ii. 536, etc.

384. **sequar**, etc., 'I will haunt him with (a Fury's) murky brands, though far away.' Virgil reproduces the Greek notion of Ἐρινύες—a personification of the curses that wait on wrong-doing and the stings of accusing conscience: cp. iii. 331 *scelerum furiis agitatus Orestes*. The thought is from Apoll. Rhod. iv. 385 ἐκ δέ σε πάτρης Αὐτίκ' ἐμαί σ' ἐλάσειαν Ἐρινύες.

387. The first hint of her resolution to die: the news of the effect produced on Aeneas by her spectre or apparition is to reach her in the underworld. **sub**, 'down to.'

392. **thalamo, stratis**, poetical datives of the recipient, instead of the ordinary prep. and accusative; cp. Aen. xi. 192 *it caelo clamor*, Georg. iii. 418 *tecto assuetus coluber succedere*.

395. **animum labefactus**, acc. after passive verb, in imitation of Greek: cp. Lucr. i. 13 *perculsae corda*.

397, 398. **incumbunt**, 'set to work.' **litore toto**, 'all along the shore;' abl. of extension, common with the adj. *totus*. **uncta**, 'well-pitched.'

406, 407. **cogunt**, 'muster.' **moras**, 'laggards.' **fervet**, 'the path is all alive (or aglow) with work.'

409–411. **fervĕre**, the older form of the word. Cp. *fulgĕre* Aen. vi. 826. **misceri**, of a *confused* noise: cp. l. 160 above.

414–415. **animos . . . relinquat**, 'bid her proud spirit yield to love, lest aught she leave untried, and die in vain.' **frustra moritura** expresses the consequence of **inexpertum relinquat**.

419. 'If I have borne the thought of (lit. been able to expect) so great a sorrow, I shall also have strength to endure it.' For **sperare**, implying the expectation of something undesirable, cp. Ecl. viii. 26 *quid non speremus amantes?*

421–423. **solam**, etc., 'for you alone that traitor made his friend, to you confided his very inmost thoughts; you only knew the time to reach his softer side.' **colere, credere**, the historic infin. is often used to express repeated acts, cp. Aen. xi. 852 *quicum partiri curas*. **sensus**, lit. 'feelings.' **molles aditus et tempora**, hendiadys = *tempora viri molliter adeundi*.

427. Servius says there was a story, resting on Varro's authority, that

Diomede actually stole Anchises' bones, but met with so much ill fortune in consequence, that he restored them to Aeneas. Virgil ascribes to Dido that strong Roman feeling against violation of tombs, to which was afterwards due the preservation of the Christian catacombs at Rome. Cicero (Tusc. i. 12. 27) refers to the *inexpiabilis religio* on this point as evidence of a belief in a future existence. **cineres manesve**, 'ashes and spirit,' are often coupled, as above l. 34; cp. Liv. xxxi. 30 *omnium nudatos manes, nullius ossa terra tegi.*

428. cur . . . neget, consecutive, 'so that he should refuse;' *cur* = *ut ea re.*

433, 434. 'I ask but for a few vacant hours, a leisure time, a breathing space for passion, till fortune schools my vanquished heart to bear its grief.' **inane** = a time of inaction, so Val. Fl. iii. 657 *inania tempora.* Dido wishes to have a short time free from the distraction of Aeneas' journey. Cp. Ov. Her. vii. 178 (Dido to Aeneas) *Pro spe coniugii tempora parva peto. Dum freta mitescunt, et amor dum temperat usum, Fortiter ediscam tristia posse pati.*

435, 436. 'This last boon I ask—O pity a sister's prayer!—and when you have granted it, I will repay it with interest at my death.' How repaid? perhaps (Wagner) by Anna then succeeding to Dido's wealth and crown, perhaps (Con.) by Dido's death ridding Anna of trouble; but we need not look for too precise a meaning in the language of agitation and despair. 'Grant me this boon—'tis not for long' is the keynote. **morte**, probably abl. of time; but it might be taken as instr. abl., 'by my death.' 'Repay' is an unusual meaning for **remitto**: and it is suggested that the meaning may be 'I will let you go (to him), crowned with my death'—Dido being supposed to betray a lurking jealousy of her sister, as e. g. ll. 421–423. But more use would surely have been made of this idea, had it occurred to Virgil. The text is much varied. Ribbeck adopts *dederit*, the reading of the majority of the MSS.; but the whole tenour of the passage (an address to Anna, *not* Aeneas) demands **dederis**, in opposition to the higher MS. authority. One MS. (Med.) gives *cumulata*, arising probably from CVMVLATĀ = *cumulatam*, and in its turn giving rise to the emendation *sorte*, i. e. 'with accumulated interest.' Henry adopts *cumulata morte*, translating, 'I will abate my passion, though in a state worse than death;' but it is impossible to extract this sense out of *cumulata morte*. *Relinquam* (one MS.) is merely a gloss on **remittam.** The only real difficulty is the MS. support of *dederit*: the other vv. ll. being mostly traceable to the attempt to extract too definite a sense out of an indefinite poetical expression.

438, 439. fertque refertque, 'bears again and again' (to Aeneas). **fletus**, of a tearful appeal, like *lacrimae* ii. 145 (Con.). With **aut** must be supplied a negative, implied in **nullis.**

441–446. 'As when some stout aged-timbered oak is pressed on either

side by Alpine blasts, contending to overthrow it; loud creaking follows, and from the shaken trunk leaves deeply strew the ground: the tree clings fast to the rock, and high as its summit soars to heaven, deep strikes its root towards the underworld.' **Boreae**, as other names of winds, is used loosely; here it means any cold blast. Hence **hinc . . . illinc** need not cause any difficulty, as though the North Wind blew from different quarters. **altae** closely with **consternunt**, and virtually adverbial. **quantum vertice**, etc. repeated from G. ii. 291, 292.

449. lacrimae, Dido's tears; Aeneas remains unshaken.

450–473. The beginning of the end; Dido becomes desperate and weary of life. Omens and dreams help to drive her to frenzy, and precipitate her resolve to die. (See Introd. to this book.)

450, 451. exterrita, 'driven wild.' **caeli convexa**, 'the vault of heaven.'

452–455. peragat, of her *present* design; *perageret* would have referred to a design in the (recent) past when she saw the omens. 'The more to fulfil her design and leave the light, she lately saw (**vidit**, aorist) when placing her gift upon the altar . . .' **turicremis**, 'incense-burning,' from Lucr. ii. 353. **obscenum**, 'ill-omened,' apparently the original meaning, but the etymology is uncertain.

457. templum, 'a chapel' (according to the subsequent Roman custom) to the *Di Manes* of Sychaeus, her former husband (**antiqui**, as l. 663, cp. Fr. *ancien*).

462, 463. 'Alone upon the roof-top did the owl complain with death-boding note, and uttered its long-drawn wailing cry.'

464. There is another reading, *piorum*, which makes good sense, but has not so much MS. support. An objection raised against **priorum** is the threefold repetition of the 'pr' sound in the same line. But probably this is an intentional alliteration, for the sake of emphasis, as in ll. 460, 461 *voces et verba vocantis Visa viri.*

465. furentem, proleptic; 'drives her to madness.'

469, 470. For the double vision of Pentheus see Eur. Bacch. 917, 918 Καὶ μὴν ὁρᾶν μοι δύο μὲν ἡλίους δοκῶ, Δισσὰς δὲ Θήβας. The vision of **Eumenidum agmina**, however, is more appropriate to Orestes (Aesch. Cho. 1057), and an ingenious emendation suggests *Euiadum*; but it is not easy to see how the letters IA could have become MENI. Virgil mixes his recollections of the *Bacchae* and the *Orestes*.

471. scaenis, 'on the stage' (so the best MSS.). The v. l. *furiis* and the conjecture *Poenis* (i. e. Ποιναῖς) are due to the idea that Virgil would think of the real Pentheus and Orestes, not of their representation on the stage. But, as Con. well points out, it was quite natural for a poet of Virgil's literary tastes to interest himself more in the dramatic heroes he had seen or read of, than in their supposed prototypes. **agitatus**, 'driven over the stage.' The rendering 'acted upon the stage,' suggested by Ser-

vius, is less suitable to the context here, though supported by Ausonius, Epigr. lxxi *Quam toga facundi scaenis agitavit Afrani.*

476, 477. **exigit**, 'weighs,' 'determines:' cp. Quint. vi. 5. 5 *quid dicendum, quid tacendum, quid differendum sit, exigere consilii est.* **spem fronte serenat**, 'shows calm hope upon her brow;' **spem** being a sort of cognate accusative after *serenat*. The phrase is a characteristic Virgilian inversion for *spe frontem serenat*.

479. **eum** and **eo** are unpoetical, but significant, showing that Dido will not mention the name of Aeneas.

480–482. **Oceani**, 'the bound of Ocean,' i.e. the bound which Ocean sets to the world. Homer puts the Aethiopians near the Ocean-stream (Iliad i. 423). **aptum**, in its original participial sense 'fitted,' and so 'decked with glittering stars.'

484–486. **templi**, 'precinct,' Greek τέμ-ενος. **soporiferum**, a fixed epithet of **papaver**, is curiously inappropriate here; for the priestess, to preserve the golden apples, would not try to lull the wakeful dragon to sleep. Honey and poppy-seeds sprinkled on food were a Roman delicacy: so in Hor. A. P. 375 *Sardo cum melle papaver* is among unnecessary luxuries.

487. **carminibus**, 'charms.'

489. **fluviis**, probably dat. of the recipient.

490. **movet**, there is another reading *ciet* equally well attested.

493. **accingier**, sc. *me*, 'that I unwillingly gird on (i.e. employ) magic arts.' For the accusative see on l. 137 above.

494–496. **secreta**, 'in secret.' **sub auras** must = 'heavenward,' referring to the height of the pyre; but it of course implies the other suggested meaning 'in the open air.' Virgil is thinking of the *atrium* of a Roman house. Cp. ii. 512. **impius**, 'the wretch,' as opposed to his usual title *pius*. **exuvias**, 'relics,' i.e. dress.

497. **superimponant**, 'let them (the servants) place upon it.' *Superimponas*, which has rather more MS. support, continues the directions to Anna. But as Anna would require assistance for the heavy work, the plural is perhaps more probable, and would easily be altered by copyists into the singular, to harmonise with *erig* .

501, 502. **mente** with **concipit**, 'she cannot conceive (or realise) such a pitch of madness.' *Concepit furias* (above l. 474) is said of Dido; and an ingenious emendation reads *concipere* here, **germanam** being then the subject. **morte**, 'at the death.'

504–506. **penetrali in sede** = *tecto interiore* l. 494. **intendit locum sertis**, by hypallage for the more usual *intendit serta loco;* cp. *fixit harundine malum* v. 544.

508. **effigiem**, for the use of the effigy in restoring love, cp. Ecl. viii. 75. **haud ignara futuri**, she knows what the real object of all these arrangements is, though her sister is deceived.

509. **crines effusa,** acc. after passive verb, in imitation of the Greek construction, e. g. ἐπιτετραμμένος τὴν ἀρχήν. Cp. Georg. iii. 106 *inscripti nomina regum flores;* Aen. ii. 273 *perque pedes traiectus lora tumentes.*

510. **ter centum,** of an indefinitely large number, as G. i. 15 *ter centum nivei tondent dumeta iuvenci.*

511. 'And three-fold Hecate, maiden Diana of three faces.' 'Diana was worshipped as *tri-ceps*, three-faced: her name being Hecate, as an infernal deity; Luna, as celestial; Diana, as terrestrial' (Kenn.): cp. Hor. Od. iii. 22. 4 *diva triformis.*

512–516. **sparserat,** etc., a sort of infernal lustration, analogous to that at funerals (vi. 229 sqq.); cp. Hor. Epod. v. 25 *Sagana per totam domum Spargens Avernales aquas.* **simulatos,** Virgil confesses that the Avernus water was not genuine. **ad lunam,** 'by moonlight.' **pubentes,** etc., 'and downy herbs whose juice is dark poison.' For the poetical use of **cum,** cp. Aen. ii. 72 *poenas cum sanguine = poenas sanguineas.* **veneni,** descriptive genitive. **amor,** 'a love-charm' (in this sense ἅπαξ λεγόμενον), here of a supposed excrescence on a young foal's forehead, thought to be devoured by the mother; but if secured before she did so (**praereptus**), useful as a love-philtre.

517, 518. **mola,** 'salt barley cake thrown into the fire.' **piis** = *puris*; often in connection with sacrifice, e. g. *pia vitta* l. 637, *farre pio* v. 745. The ablatives are modal—'with salted meal and clean hands.' **exuta pedem,** for the constr. see on l. 137 above. A *single* unsandalled foot is said to be shown on ancient works of art representing sacrifice; but *pedibus nudis* (Hor. Sat. i. 8. 24), and similar examples, indicate bare *feet* as usual. **in veste,** abl. of circumstance, 'with loosened dress:' cp. *horridus in iaculis* v. 37; *potans in rosa* Cic. Fin. ii. 20; *magno in aere alieno maiores etiam possessiones habent* Cat. ii. 8; and the adverbial phrases *in aequo, in propinquo* (Roby, L. Gr. ii. § 1976).

520, 521. 'Then prays to whatsoever gods have just and mindful regard for unrequited love;' lit. 'have for a care (dat.) lovers with unequal bond of union'—i. e. who love but are not loved in return.

528. This line (which is repeated Aen. ix. 225, with the substitution of *laxabant* for *lenibant*) is omitted by two of the best MSS., and may possibly have been interpolated from book ix. But it certainly gives additional beauty and finish to the passage, and should most probably be retained.

529–531. **animi,** 'at heart;' see on l. 203 above. **oculisve,** 'or draws the night into her eyes or bosom,' one of Virgil's expressive phrases: cp. Tennyson's imitation (quoted by Con.),

> 'Ever failed to draw
> The quiet night into her blood.'

533–536. **sic adeo,** ''tis thus she begins;' cp. xii. 47 *sic instituit ore.* The notion is that of setting foot upon, and so entering, an undertaking. **adeo**

slightly emphasises **sic.** **quid ago**, vivid use of the indic. for the delib. subj. 'what shall I do?' Cp. Aen. iii. 88 *quem sequimur*. **irrisa**, 'an object of mockery' (to the *proci priores*; the notion of *past* time being subordinated). **quos ego sim**, etc., 'though I have so often spurned them'—in contrast to **petam supplex.**

537. ultima, 'the uttermost,' i. e. the most degrading.

538, 539. iuvat, sc. *eos*: 'because they are pleased to have had my help before, and gratitude for favours of old stands firm in mindful hearts?' The **ne** carries on the question, and suggests a further doubt as to the possibility of this reason; cp. Catull. lxiv. 180 *An patris auxilium sperem? quemne ipsa reliqui*, i. e. *eiusne, quem* . . .

540–542. fac velle, 'suppose I wished.' **Laomedonteae periuria gentis**, referring to the fraud of Laomedon, king of Troy, who refused to pay Poseidon the stipulated price for building the city walls.

545. inferar, 'shall I attack them?'

547. quin morere, 'nay, die.' She apostrophises herself, but immediately turns on Anna.

550. non licuit, 'it was not allowed,' a passionate complaint. In English it would rather be 'Why was I not allowed. . . ?'

551. more ferae, 'like some wild thing,' expresses a longing, not for bestial as opposed to human life, but for the freedom and ease of wild life as opposed to the restraints and troubles of civilisation.

552. Sychaei, so Med., and some other MSS. Servius read *Sychaeo* (adject.), which most editors adopt, though occurring nowhere else. *Sychaei*, says Con., 'looks like a correction;' but might not *Sychaeo* be introduced to avoid the repetition of final sound in **cineri . . . Sychaei?** The similarity to an adjectival termination would best account for the adjectival use (if admitted) of *Sychaeo*.

554. certus eundi, 'resolved to start;' a poetical construction: cp. Tac. Ann. iv. 34 *relinquendae vitae certus*. The genitive is analogous to that of respect or reference, *aevi maturus*, etc.

558. A hypermetric line, the *que* being elided before the *et* of the next line. This license is not found in Homer, and is very rare in the early Latin poets. Virgil employs it in twenty-two instances, in eighteen of which the elided syllable is *que*. See Introduction, p. 19.

559. iuventa. The MSS. vary between *iuventa* and *iuventae*, which latter, if right, would be a gen. of respect after **decora.**

561. deinde, 'thereafter,' as a result of this inaction.

564. certa mori, poetical constr.; so *certi non cedere* Ov. Met. ix. 43.

565–567. praecipitare = *praecipitandi*, the infin. being used as gen. of a verbal substantive; cp. Aen. iii. 670 *dextra affectare potestas*. **trabibus,** i. e. Carthaginian ships. **fervĕre**, see on l. 409 above. If Aeneas does not make off at once, the Carthaginians will try to burn his ships.

569. The neuter **varium et mutabile** expresses contempt—'a changeful and uncertain thing is woman ever.'

571–573. **umbris**, of a single apparition, as v. 81 *umbraeque paternae*. **fatigat**, 'stirs.' **praecipites vigilate**, 'awake in haste.'

577. **quisquis es** does not imply doubt that it was Mercury, but it is a common formula of address, like Ζεὺς ὅστις ποτ' ἐστίν Aesch. Agam. 160; the idea apparently being to disclaim irreverence in addressing a god by a name of human choice. Thus in Plato, Crat. 400 D, E, Socrates lays down the principle *ὅτι περὶ θεῶν οὐδὲν ἴσμεν, οὔτε περὶ αὐτῶν οὔτε περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἅττα ποτὲ αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοὺς καλοῦσιν, ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς νόμος ἐστὶν ἡμῖν εὔχεσθαι, οἵτινες καὶ ὁπόθεν χαίρουσιν ὀνομαζόμενοι, ταῦτα καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς καλεῖν.*

578. 'O come, and aid us with thy favour! send stars in heaven to help us!' **sidera**, i. e. the weather, which they were supposed to influence.

581–583. **rapiuntque ruuntque**, 'they hurry and bustle.' **rapiunt**, lit. 'seize hastily' (the cables, etc.); cp. i. 176 *rapuit flammam* ('kindle quickly'), vii. 725 *rapit populos* ('lead hurriedly on'). **latet**, 'is hidden' (by the vast number of ships upon it). Line 583 is repeated from iii. 208.

586, 587. **primam**, some MSS. read *primum*; a conflict of authority between which there is little to choose. **aequatis velis**, 'with steady sail,' i. e. evenly filled by the wind.

589–591. **percussa** and **abscissa** are middle; see on line 137 above. **ibit**, 'shall he now go?' **illuserit**, 'shall it be (said hereafter) that a stranger has laughed our kingdom to scorn?' cp. *occiderit* ii. 581.

595. 'A momentary return to calmness' (Con.).

596–598. 'Unhappy Dido, does your impious act but now strike home? better had it done so (**decuit tangere**) when you offered him your crown.' **facta impia**, her faithlessness to Sychaeus' memory. Another view is that *impia facta* refers to Aeneas' conduct; 'do you *now* feel his wickedness? You should have foreseen it when you were giving him the crown.' The objection is that at that time there were no grounds for suspecting Aeneas. **dextra fidesque** (sc. *eius*) **quem**, etc.; cp. xi. 81 *vinxerat et post terga manus, quos mitteret umbris*.

603–606. 'But the fortune of war had been doubtful. Suppose it had; whom had I then to fear, with death at hand?' **fuerat, metui**, for *fuissem, metuissem*; what *might* have happened is stated, for the sake of vividness, as if it *had* happened; cp. Georg. ii. 132 *et si non alium late iactaret odorem, laurus erat*; Ov. F. ii. 431 *utilius fuerat non habuisse nurus*. **fuisset**, concessive, 'Suppose it had been.' **tulissem, implessem**, etc. past jussives, 'I ought to have carried,' 'I ought to have filled,' etc., cp. Plaut. Trin. 134 *non ego illi argentum redderem?* Cic. Verr. i. 42 *imitatus esses ipsum Voconium*. **foros**, 'decks.' **exstinxem**, for *exstinxissem*, cp. Aen. i. 201 *accestis*.

607. This invocation to the Sun may have been suggested by Hom. Il.

iii. 277 Ἠέλιός θ', ὃς πάντ' ἐπακούεις : but it also recalls, as Prof. Nettleship points out ('Suggestions,' p. 34), the great speech of Ajax in Sophocles, Σὺ δ', ὦ τὸν αἰπὺν οὐρανὸν διφρηλατῶν Ἥλιε, κ.τ.λ. (Aj. 845); cp. what has been said above (p. 87) of the influence of the Greek drama on Aen. iv. **terrarum opera omnia,** 'all that is done on earth.'

608. 'And thou, Juno, the agent and witness of all this woe,' i. e. *quae has nuptias conciliasti*, as above ll. 120 sqq., 166. **interpres** = 'a medium between two parties;' so *interpres corrumpendi iudicii*, 'a bribery agent' Cic. Verr. i. 12.

610–611. di morientis Elissae, 'gods of dying Elissa,' may perhaps refer to the notion that each person had a presiding deity or genius, which was supposed to be two-fold; hence the custom of erecting two altars to the Manes of the dead (cp. Aen. iii. 63): but more probably = 'gods that look upon (or, that will avenge) Elissa's death,' i. e. the heavenly protection that *belongs* to her of right. **meritumque,** etc., 'turn to my woes the favour they deserve,' i. e. of vengeance on their authors.

613. caput, see on l. 354 above.

614. 'If such be the demand of Jove's decree, such the appointed goal.' **terminus,** originally a stone pillar fixed in the ground as a boundary, then of any fixed or firm decree, e. g. Lucr. i. 77 *alte terminus haerens.*

615–620. This imprecation was largely fulfilled: Aeneas had to wage war in Italy; he had to leave Ascanius in the camp, and go and obtain aid from Evander; many of his companions were killed; when peace was made, the Trojan name was dropped, and that of *Latini* substituted (*pax iniqua*); three years afterwards he was drowned in the Numicus, and his body not recovered. There is a story that when Charles the First consulted the Sortes Vergilianae (Introd. p. 10) in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, he opened upon this passage.

623. exercete, 'ply with ceaseless hate,' i. e. 'hate evermore.'

625–629. 'Rise up, thou unknown avenger from my bones, to chase the Dardan settlers with fire and sword, now or hereafter, whensoever strength be given. Let shore be at war with shore, sea with sea, and men with men! Let them fight, they and their children's children!' For the combination of the second person with **aliquis** cp. Ter. Ad. iv. 4. 26 *aperite aliquis ostium.* The reference is of course to Hannibal. **nepotesque,** see on line 558 above.

631. lucem = *vitam*, as above l. 31.

633–635. antiqua, see above l. 458. **mihi,** dat. eth., with **huc siste** (not **cara**). **properet,** subj. in petitio obliqua.

640. Dardaniique rogum capitis, 'the Dardans' pyre,' on which lay the memorials of Aeneas (above ll. 507, 508).

642–647. 'But Dido in haste, all wild with her dreadful purpose, rolling her bloodshot eyes, her trembling cheeks flushed here and there with red, yet pale already at the touch of death, bursts through the inner doors of her

palace and wildly scales the lofty pyre; then bares the Dardan sword, a gift not asked for use like this.' **interfusa genas**, for the constr. see on l. 509 above. **munus**, apparently a sword given by Aeneas to Dido at the latter's request. It is the same as the *ensis relictus* (l. 507 above), a phrase which implies that it was Aeneas' own, and had been left behind by him. Thus there is a slight inconsistency between the two passages.

649. lacrimis et mente, modal abl. = 'with (or, in) tears and reflection,' 'pausing thought awhile and wept.'

651–654. 'Relics so dear while fate and heaven allowed, receive my life and loose me from my care. My days are done, the course that Fortune gave is run; and now my shade shall pass majestic to the grave.' **sinebat**, the MSS. vary between *sinebat* and *sinebant*, either of which would do. For **vixi** cp. ii. 325 *fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium*, etc.

659. os impressa, for the constr. see on l. 137 above.

660. sic, sic, at these words she twice stabs herself—'thus, thus I go rejoicing to the shades.'

661. hunc ignem, the fire of the funeral pile, on which she is killing herself, and which will be lighted after her death.

663. ferro collapsam, 'fallen on the sword.'

667. femineo ululatu, an imitation of Homeric rhythm, like *Actaeo Aracyntho* Ecl. ii. 24.

669. ruat, 'were to fall,' as ii. 290 *ruit alto a culmine Troia.*

671. culmina = *tecta.* Prepositions follow their case (1) as here, when a gen. follows; (2) when another subst. follows, *saxa per et scopulos* G. iii. 276; (3) more commonly, when an adject. follows, *fronde super viridi* Ecl. i. 81.

675, 676. 'Was this your plan, my sister? were you deceiving even me? was this, forsooth, the intent of your pyre, this of your altar-flames?' **petebas**, lit. 'attacking,' as *bello petere* iii. 603, *falsis criminibus petere* Tac. Ann. iv. 31; the imperfect denotes continuance—'were you doing this all the time?' **mihi**, dat. ethicus.

678, 679. vocasses, past jussive, see on l. 604 above. 'You should have called me to share your fate! the same death-pang, the selfsame hour, had destroyed us both with the sword.' **dolor**, of physical pain, as often.

680. struxi, sc. *rogum.*

682–684. patres, 'elders.' **date abluam**, 'grant me to wash' (petitio obliqua). Con., to make the construction correspond to that of vi. 883 (*manibus date lilia plenis*, *Purpureos spargam flores*), takes **date vulnera lymphis**, 'give the wounds to water,' as an inversion for *date lymphas vulnĕribus*, 'bring water for her wounds;' but this seems hardly necessary. **extremus**, etc., 'if any last breath be still flickering there, let me catch it in my mouth.' **super**, over the mouth. The reference is to the custom of friends trying to receive in their mouth the last breath of a dying person. Cp. Cic. Verr. ii. 5. 45 *Matres . . . nihil aliud orabant nisi ut filiorum*

postremum spiritum ore excipere liceret. Con., less probably, regards it as an attempt on Anna's part to preserve her sister's life.

685. evaserat, 'had passed over,' i. e. 'had scaled.'

689. stridit, 'gurgles,' i. e. with spouting blood.

691, 692. 'Thrice she rolled back upon the couch, with blank gaze sought for light in heaven above, and groaned as light she found.' Enn. Ann. 15 *Semianimesque micant oculi lucemque requirunt.*

695. 'To free the struggling soul from the limbs entangled with it;' cp. l. 703 below; Lucr. ii. 950 *Vitalis animae nodos e corpore solvit.*

696–699. fato, of a natural death; **merita,** of a violent death provoked by the person's own action. For the idea of a premature death delaying admission to Orcus see vi. 427 sqq., where infants and suicides are confined in a separate place by themselves. **crinem,** cp. Eur. Alc. 75, 76 *Ἱερὸς γὰρ οὗτος τῶν κατὰ χθονὸς θεῶν Ὅτου τόδ' ἔγχος κρατὸς ἁγνίσῃ τρίχα.* **damnaverat,** 'had given over;' Hor. Od. iii. 3. 22 *Ilion . . . mihi castaeque damnatum Minervae.*

701. trahens, cp. *facem ducens* ii. 694: 'flashing as she goes against the sun a thousand varied hues.'

NOTES TO BOOK V.

Aeneas, driven by foul winds to Sicily, holds games at the tomb of Anchises on the anniversary of his death—viz. a boat-race (ll. 104–285), a foot-race (ll. 286–361), a boxing-match (ll. 362–484), an archery contest (ll. 485–544), and the *ludus Troianus* of cavalry manœuvres (ll. 545–603). After an attempt of the Trojan matrons, at Juno's instigation, to burn his fleet, and so detain him from Italy, has been foiled by a miraculous shower (ll. 604–699), Aeneas sets sail for Italy; Venus obtaining for him a calm passage from Neptune. On the way Palinurus is drowned; an incident which gives interest to the otherwise uneventful voyage from Sicily to Italy, by connecting it with an Italian tradition about the promontory of Palinurus.

The scene of this episode in the story of the Aeneid was suggested by a variety of the Trojan legend which made Anchises die in Sicily, and placed a Trojan colony in the island. The idea of the funeral games and much of their detail is from the games in Iliad xxiii, given by Achilles in honour of his dead friend Patroclus. The burning of the ships formed part of the Trojan legend; its scene being variously laid in Greece or Italy, or at some point on the voyage of Aeneas.

There are some reasons for supposing that this book did not form part of the original design, but was added as an after-thought. The expression *Libyco cursu* in vi. 338 suggests that Palinurus was lost on the voyage from Carthage to Italy, and that there was no halt at Sicily. In vi. 354 foll. Palinurus speaks of a great storm, but at the end of book v the weather is described as calm and serene. Lastly, vi. 116 is hardly consistent with v. 731 foll., the request to visit Hades appearing in the former case to have been made by Anchises while alive, while in the latter case it was made by a vision after his death.

1, 2. **medium iter tenebat**, 'was well on his way.' **certus**, 'with fixed purpose,' 'steadily.' **atros Aquilone**, 'darkened by the northern breeze.' A northern wind would be unfavourable for a voyage from Carthage to Italy, and the fleet of Aeneas would have to beat up against it.

4. **flammis**, i.e. the flames of the funeral pyre, on which Dido had killed herself, and which would naturally be used for burning her body.

5–7. **latet**, from the Trojans, whose departure had driven Dido to her end. **duri**, etc., 'but the thought of the bitter pains from great love

wronged, and the knowledge of what a frantic woman can dare, incline each Trojan heart to sad forebodings.' For this use of **notum** (pass. part. expressing an abstract notion) cp. Liv. vii. 8 *diu non perlitatum tenuit dictatorem;* ib. i. 53 *ni degeneratum in aliis huic quoque decori offecisset;* and in Greek τὸ τιμώμενον τῆς πόλεως Thuc. ii. 63. For the thought cp. Fletcher, 'Pilgrim,' iii. 1:

> 'What dares not woman when she is provoked,
> Or what seems dangerous to love or fury?'

9–11. Nearly repeated from Aen. iii. 193–195. **inhorruit unda tenebris,** 'darkness ruffled the crests of the waves,' a highly poetical expression, the darkness being said to cause the roughness of the water, though both were due to the storm.

13. quianam, 'wherefore,' an old word: cp. Aen. x. 6 *quianam sententia vobis Versa retro?* Cp. also the Greek τί γάρ;

14. deinde is out of place, belonging properly to **iubet**; cp. Aen. vii. 135 *sic deinde effatus . . . implicat.*

15, 16. colligere arma=*contrahere vela,* 'to take in sail;' cp. Lucan iii. 44 *legere rudentes Et posito remis petierunt litora malo.* **arma,** like ὅπλα (Od. ii. 390 etc.)=the whole equipment or tackling of masts and sails; cp. Aen. vi. 353 *spoliata armis navis.* **obliquat sinus in ventum,** 'slants the canvas to the wind,' i. e. tacks; the wind being contrary.

17, 18. non si, etc., 'not if Jupiter were to promise it on his word, could I expect to reach Italy in this weather.' **auctor**='guarantee,' or 'surety;' see lexicons. **hoc caelo,** 'with a sky like this,' abl. of attendant circumstances: cp. Cic. Leg. 3. 16 *quid hoc populo obtineri potest?*

19, 20. 'The wind has changed and roars athwart our course, getting up from the darkening west as the air thickens into cloud.' **transversa,** adverbial use of neut. plur. adj.; cp. Ecl. iii. 8 *transversa tuentibus;* Aen. viii. 489 *infanda furens.* **in nubem cogitur,** clouds were supposed to be produced by condensed air; cp. Cic. N. P. 2. 39 *concretus (aer) in nubes cogitur.*

21. 'Nor have we power to struggle against them or make such effort as we should.' **tantum,** 'as much as necessary;' cp. Aen. ix. 806 *subsistere tantum.*

24. fraterna Erycis=*fratris Erycis*; Eryx being also a son of Venus.

25. 'If only with clear memory I retrace the stars I observed long ago.'

26. equidem, here, as usual, in connection with 1 pers. sing., being perhaps by Romans themselves unconsciously associated with *ego,* though really only a strengthened form of *quidem,* cp. *e-nim, nam*; ἐκεῖνος, κεῖνος; ἐ-θέλω, θέλω. This appears from its occasional use (1) with *ego,* e. g. Cic. Or. ii. 6 *sic ego nolim equidem;* (2) with 2nd and 3rd pers., e. g. Plaut. Pers. ii. 2. 5 *equidem si scis tute,* Cic. Att. xiii. 26 *equidem credibile*

non est; (3) with other cases of 1st pers., e. g. Pers. i. 110 *per me equidem sint omnia protinus alba,* or 3rd pers., e. g. Ter. Eun. v. 4. 34 (955) *equidem orante, ut ne id faceret, Thaide.*

28, 29. **velis**, abl., as in *tendit iter velis* vii. 7. **demittere**, 'bring to haven;' cp. *deducere, devenire*, etc., where *de-* implies a fixed *terminus ad quem.*

33. **gurgite,** 'over the flood,' local abl.

37. **in iaculis**, 'with javelins;' abl. of circumstance. See on iv. 518.

38. **Criniso** MSS.; more commonly *Crimiso.* The story was that a Trojan maiden called Segesta or Egesta was sent by her father to Sicily, in order that she might not be given up to the sea-monster which Poseidon had sent to avenge Laomedon's fraud. Segesta married the river-god Crinisus, and their son was Acestes.

40. **gratatur reduces**, 'congratulates them on their return;' *esse* must be supplied, as there is no instance of *gratari* taking an accusative.

44. **tumuli ex aggere**, 'from a piled up mound.'

52–54. **deprensus**, 'overtaken,' 'surprised,' by the inopportune arrival of the day. **suis** =*propriis*, as Aen. vi. 142 *hoc sibi pulchra suum ferri Proserpina munus Instituit.*

55. **ultro**, 'beyond all hope.'

56. 'Not indeed, as I think, without the purpose and the will of heaven.' **equidem**, though in connection with **reor,** seems only to strengthen **haud**; see above l. 26.

60. **velit**, 'may he deign;' so of Jupiter, i. 733.

61, 62. **Troia generatus**, 'like a true son of Troy' (Con.). See on l. 37 above. **bina boum capita in naves**, 'two head of oxen for each ship.' **adhibete**, 'invoke;' cp. Hor. Od. iv. 5. 32 *alteris Te mensis adhibet deum.*

64. **si . . . extulerit**. No doubt is implied; the expression being originally connected with some superstitious fear of speaking too confidently: cp. the Greek opt. with ἄν = a modified future. Cp. also Catull. xiv. 17 *si luxerit* ('come dawn'), Hor. Epp. i. 7. 10 *Quod si bruma nives Albanis illinet agris.*

65. **retexerit**, 'has uncovered,' 'made visible,' cp. iv. 119.

68. **incedit**, 'moves proudly.'

69. **crudo**, 'of raw hide.' **fidit** = *audet*, and is therefore constr. with an infin.

71. **ore favete**, 'hush! one and all' (lit. 'favour with the lips'), a formula at sacrifices, bidding people keep silence so as to avoid ill-omened words; cp. Hor. Od. iii. 1. 2 *favete linguis* ('guard your lips').

72. **materna**, the myrtle being sacred to Venus.

73. **aevi maturus**, 'of ripe years,' gen. of reference; cp. Catull. xii. 9 *leporum disertus,* Tac. Ann. xiv. 40 *spernendus morum.*

77. **mero Baccho**, 'of unmixed wine,' abl. of description or material.

79. **purpureos**, 'bright;' cp. Aen. vi. 884, where the same custom is

referred to. It was also common in Greece (Aesch. Pers. 618, Soph. El. 895) and has survived to modern times.

80, 81. iterum, 'once more,' i. e. after the burial a year ago. This is better than to couple **iterum** with **salvete**, and refer it to the repetition of the cry **salve. salvete . . . cineres,** 'hail, ashes rescued in vain,' referring to Aeneas' rescue of Anchises from Troy. Con. thinks it harsh to talk of his *ashes* having been rescued, and proposes to make **recepti** gen. sing.; but the expression would then be very unnatural. For **animae umbraeque** of a single spirit, cp. iv. 571.

82. fatalia, 'destined.'

84. adytis, 'the recesses of the grave.' The word properly denotes the sanctuary of a temple, and is here applied to the grave because of its sacred character.

87–89. 'Blue streaks adorned its back, the sheen of golden spots lit up its scales; as the bow in the clouds flings out a thousand varied hues to meet the sun.' With **notae** some verb such as *pingebant* must be supplied from **incendebat. nubibus** prob. local abl., rather than dat. of recipient ('over the clouds').

90. agmine longo, 'with long trailing march.' *agmen* denotes a moving line or train of any kind, and is elsewhere applied by Virgil to 'the sweep of oars' Aen. v. 211, 'the flow of a river,' Aen. ii. 782.

94. instaurat, 'renews;' see on iv. 64.

95. The **Genius** or tutelar deity of places or persons was represented under the form of a serpent (e.g. on the walls of Pompeii and in Etruscan tombs, see Dennis' 'Etruria,' i. pp. 170, 287): as also was the **famulus** (*δαίμων*) or 'familiar' supposed to attend demigods and heroes, the predecessor of the black cat of mediaeval witchcraft. Cp. Val. Fl. iii. 458 *placidi quas protinus angues Umbrarum famuli linguis rapuere coruscis.*

99. remissos, 'released from Acheron,' the spirit being supposed to attend the sacrifices in its honour.

103. viscera, 'flesh,' a common use; cp. vi. 253 *imponit taurorum viscera flammis.*

104, 105. serena luce, abl. of circumstance.

107. complerant, another reading is *complebant.* The imperf. is possibly a slight gain in sense, but is more likely to have been substituted for plup., than vice versa. **complerant** carries on the suggestion of **excierat,** by showing that at daybreak the people had already assembled for the sight.

109. circo, 'the ring' in which the contests were held, after the boat race was finished (l. 289 foll.). We may suppose that the people assembled there.

112. talenta seems the best reading, though the MSS. are rather in favour of *talentum.*

113. 'And the trumpet from a central mound proclaims the games

begun.' A slight anachronism; the trumpet being used at Roman games, but not in Homer.

114. pares, 'well matched,' cp. Ecl. vii. 5 *cantare pares.*

117. mox Italus, i. e. soon to be the founder of an Italian house. **Memmius** from **Mnestheus**, on the analogy of *meminisse* from μεμνῆσθαι. Of the three Roman *gentes* here referred to Trojan ancestry, the Memmia (plebeian) does not appear in history till 173 B. C., after which it supplied several *tribuni plebis*, and among them the friend and patron of Lucretius. The Sergia (patrician) had a consul B. C. 437, and in later times the notorious Catiline; while the only Cluentius known to us is Cicero's client in B. C. 66.

119. urbis opus, 'huge as a city,' a curious expression: cp. Ov. Fast. vi. 641 (of the house of Vedias Pollio, pulled down by Augustus) *Urbis opus domus una fuit; spatiumque tenebat Quo brevius muris oppida multa tenent.* The phrase occurs in Stat. Silv. ii. 2. 31, applied to a portico, where however it seems to mean *opus urbe dignum*; and in Theb. vi. 86 a funeral pile is called *montis opus* (unless *onus* be here the correct reading). **versu**, a 'row' or 'bank' of oars. The mention of triremes is an anachronism, since they were not invented till about 700 B. C.

125. olim, 'at times,' as Hor. Sat. i. 1. 25 *ut pueris olim dant crustula blandi Doctores.*

126. condunt, i. e. with clouds.

127, 128. 'In a calm 'tis still, and rises from the unruffled deep, a level spot, where basking sea-birds love to rest.' **tranquillo**, abl. of circumstance. *Tranquillum* is often used as a subst., e. g. Ter. Eun. v. 8. 8 *esse in tranquillo.*

134. populea, the poplar was sacred to Hercules, and was said to have been brought by him from Hades, hence perhaps its use here, since there were funeral games: but a simpler reason for its choice is the belief that Hercules was the founder of the Olympic games.

135. umeros perfusa, for the constr. see on iv. 137 above.

136–138. 'They take their seats and arms are strained to oars; with straining eyes they wait the signal, while throbbing excitement drains their beating hearts and high-roused thirst for glory.'

141. adductis, 'pulled home' (to the body, in rowing). **versa** (from *verto*), 'upturned.'

142, 143. pariter, 'side by side.' **tridentibus**, 'three-pronged.' The *rostrum*, or beak, often consisted of three huge prongs, one above the other. See Smith's Dict. of Ant., Art. *Navis.*

145. corripuere, 'dash on to,' lit. 'seize' or 'devour': cp. *viam vorare* Catull. xxxv. 7.

146, 147. 'Not so eagerly do the charioteers shake the streaming reins over the darting teams, and stretch forward to lash them.' The comparison is here between the eagerness of the charioteers and the rowers: in

the two preceding lines it is between the swiftness of the chariots and the ships.

148, 149. studiis faventum, 'cheers of partisans.' **inclusa,** 'shut in' (by wooded hills).

151. undis, abl. loci, 'shoots forth in front upon the waves.'

154, 155. aequo discrimine, 'at equal distance' (behind Cloanthus). **locum superare priorem,** 'to win the foremost place' (*τὰ πρότερα νικᾶν*); cp. G. ii. 123 *aëra vincere summum Arboris.*

159. tenebant, 'were close upon;' cp. vi. 358 *iam tuta tenebam.*

160. medio in gurgite victor, 'victor over half the course,' lit. 'victor in the half-way waters.'

161–163. mihi, dat. ethicus, 'whither, pray, so far to the right? Make this your course: hug the shore, and let the oar-blade graze the rocks on our left:' **ama,** cp. Hor. Od. i. 25. 3 *amat ianua limen.*

166. diversus, 'out of the course.'

168. propiora, 'the water nearer to the rock.'

170, 171. 'Shaves a way to the left inside him' (i. e. between Gyas and the shore, as explained l. 169); cp. xi. 694 *eludit gyro interior.* **metis,** 'turning point.'

172. ossibus, local abl.

174. socium, an example of the old Latin genitive in *-um*, which was superseded by the later form in *-orum*, but retained in some few instances, e.g. *nummum, sestertium, deum, divum, fabrum, Achivum, Teucrum,* etc.

176. 'Himself takes his place at the helm, himself directs the ship.' **magister** and **rector** are synonymous.

177. clavumque, etc. 'turns the tiller to the shore,' a loose expression. Strictly speaking the effect of turning the tiller to the shore would be to steer the ship out to sea. But Virgil merely means that he steers in towards the rock.

178–180. 'But when at last Menoetes rose slowly from the bottom, heavy as he was and old, with dripping clothes, he clomb upon the cliff and sat down upon a dry rock.' **in veste,** abl. of circumst.; see on iv. 518.

185. capit ante locum, 'gets the position first,' 'shoots ahead first.'

186. 'Yet not before him by a full keel's length.'

189. insurgite, 'spring to your oars;' i. e. rise up with them, as a rower pulling hard almost lifts himself from his seat.

190. Hectorei socii, 'comrades of Hector.' Probably there is no special allusion in the phrase, which merely means that they had once fought by Hector's side in defence of Troy.

193. sequacibus, 'pursuing' the ship, 'entangling.'

196. hoc vincite, 'win this at least, my friends, and avert disgrace,' i. e. whoever wins let us try not to be last. **hoc** is cogn. acc., as in *causam vincere, νικᾶν δίκην,* etc. Cp. Sil. It. iv. 428, 429 (Jupiter sending Mars to encourage young Scipio, afterwards *Africanus*, at the Trebia, and make

him save his father's—the then consul's—life) *Te duce primitias pugnae, te magna magistro Audeat, et primum hoc vincat, servasse parentem.*

199. subtrahitur, 'the ground vanishes beneath them.' *Solum navis est mare* (Gossr.): so Ovid of the sky, Met. i. 73 *Astra tenent caeleste solum*, and Val. Flaccus of the sea (probably imitating Virgil) Arg. iv. 713 *Pontique iacentis Omne solum.* The rapidity of the motion makes the ground or surface appear to be gliding rapidly back—an effect which may be understood by looking out of the window of a railway carriage going at speed.

201–206. ipse, 'mere chance.' **animi**, 'in heart;' see note on iv. 203. **iniquo**, 'narrow' or 'dangerous.' **murice**, a sharp rock, shaped like a shell fish (*murex*). **obnixi**, dashed on the rock.

207. 'Up rise the crew, shouting loudly at their delay.' **morantur** contrasts with their previous speed, now brought to a standstill. It has been suggested that **morari** is here used as = *inhibere*, in the technical sense of 'backing water.' But the men would not *get up* from their seats to back water; and the ordinary meaning of the word makes perfectly good sense.

210–212. 'But Mnestheus in joy, encouraged by his very success, with rapid play of oars and breezes at his call, makes for the waters that lie before him, gliding down the unobstructed sea.' **agmine** (see on l. 90 above) and **ventis vocatis** are abl. of circumstance. **prona**, 'shoreward,' i. e. sloping to the shore. Prof. Nettleship, however, suggests that it may = 'smooth waters;' cp. Pliny, Paneg. 86 *precatus est abeunti prona maria celeremque decursum*, which looks as if it were a familiar expression in this sense (Trans. Oxf. Phil. Soc. 1879–80, p. 9).

213–217. 'As a dove flushed suddenly from a cave, whose home and nestlings dear are in some cranny of the rock, darts out in flight towards the fields, and in terror flaps loudly with her wings in the cell; then gliding through the still calm air skims smoothly on her way, without a motion of her rapid pinions.' **fertur in arva volans**, a general description of her flight, followed by the details—her first fluttering in the cave, and her subsequent easy motion through the air.

218. ultima, i. e. the latter part of the course.

220, 221. alto, a usual epithet of **scopulo**, not particularly appropriate here. **brevibus vadis**, 'shallows,' usually *brevia.*

230. pacisci, 'to barter life for fame'; cp. the similar expression in xii. 49 *letum pro laude pacisci*, 'submit to death.' *Pacisci* means to 'make a bargain,' and the bargain may be either to surrender life or to undergo death.

231. videntur, sc. *sibi*—'they can, because they think they can.'

233. ponto, 'towards the sea,' poetical dat. of the recipient, instead of the ordinary prep. and case.

234. in vota vocasset, 'called to hear his vows.'

235. **aequora curro**, poetical use of acc. of extent with verb of motion; cp. Aen. iii. 191 *currimus aequor*, i. 524 *maria omnia vecti*.

237, 238. **voti reus**, 'answerable for my vow,' ordinary gen. of the matter charged, like *sacrilegii compertos* Liv. xxxii. 1, *manufesti rerum capitalium*, Sall. Cat. lii. **proiciam**, so the MSS. with few exceptions. Most editions read *porriciam* (from *porro iacere* according to Festus), a technical religious term for presenting offerings, found in Liv. xxix. 27 *cruda exta victimae, uti mos est, in mare porricit:* see also l. 776 below. The authority for the change is Macrobius (Sat. iii. 2), who, citing from Fabius Pictor *exta porriciunto*, adds '*porricere*' *ergo non* '*proiicere*' *proprium sacrificii verbum est.* The employment of an antique technical term is no doubt Virgilian: but as the word actually given by MSS. is perfectly suitable, there seems hardly reason enough for the change.

240, 241. **Phorcus** was a sea-god. **Panopea**, a Nereid. **Portunus**, the Roman god of 'harbours,' was identified with the Greek Palaemon or Melicerta.

247. **optare**, epexegetic infin. after **dat**, a Greek construction; cp. *donat habere viro*, l. 262 below. 'And he gives them gifts, three steers for each ship of their own choice,' etc.

248. **magnum talentum**, the silver talent was heavier than that of gold.

250, 251. **quam plurima**, etc., 'round which ran Meliboean purple broad with double waving edge.' **Meliboea**, from the Thessalian town of that name on the coast between Ossa and Pelion. Cp. Lucr. ii. 500 *Meliboeaque fulgens Purpura Thessalico concharum tacta colore*. The Ionian river Maeander was proverbially winding.

252–255. Two scenes are embroidered on the scarf—viz. Ganymede hunting, and Ganymede carried away. **ab Ida** with **rapuit**. **sublimem**, proleptic, 'has snatched up aloft.'

257. **saevit**, 'rises savagely to heaven.'

259. Lit. 'entwined with smooth links and triple with gold,' i.e. entwined with triple links of gold.

261, 262. **Iliŏ**, an example of a long vowel shortened in thesi, a license occasionally employed by Virgil, e.g. Aen. iii. 211 *insŭlăē Ionio*, etc., Ecl. viii. 108 *an quĭ amant*. **habere**, see on l. 247 above.

264, 265. **conixi** expresses the effort to carry it. 'Scarce bore it on their shoulders with all their strength; but Demoleos wore it as he ran and drove the Trojans in flight.'

267. 'Bowls cunningly wrought in silver and embossed.'

268. **adeo** emphasizes **iam**, 'now at length.'

269. The contracted form **taenis** is given by the best MSS.: *taeniis* would be a dissyllable by synizesis. **evincti tempora**, see on iv. 137.

271. **debilis**, 'disabled (*de-habilis*) in one tier of oars.' Some suggest that one whole side was disabled; but **ordo** in this connection generally =

a 'tier' or 'bank' of oars, e.g. l. 120 above. The simile which follows points to *partial* disablement; but if all the oars on one side were gone, the ship would be totally disabled for rowing purposes.

273, 274. **viae aggere**, 'causeway;' so of military roads, generally raised on embankments, Tac. Hist. ii. 24, iii. 21, etc. **obliquum**, virtually adverbial, 'across which the brass-bound wheel has passed.'

279. **nixantem**, 'struggling with coils;' so the majority of the MSS. There is another reading *nexantem*, 'twining itself in knots;' but *nexare* is a very doubtful word, and there seems to be no reason for going against the weight of MS. evidence.

281. **vela facit**, 'spreads sail;' Cicero (Tusc. iv. 4), using the phrase metaphorically, explains it by *pandere vela orationis*.

284. **datūr**, this lengthening of the final syllable is used occasionally in arsi by Virgil, but as a rule only when there is a pause in the sentence. It is an antiquarian ornament, being imitated from Ennius and the older poets, in whose time many of these final syllables were long or common. Cp. Ecl. x. 69 *omnia vincit amōr* : *et nos, &c.*; and see Introd. p. 17.

285. **genus**, acc. of respect.

288–290. 'In the midst of the valley was a circular theatre; whither with many thousands round him the hero went into the middle of the assembly and took his seat on a platform' (or 'mound'). **consessu**, prob. local abl., though it might also be taken as dat. after verb of motion, like *it caelo clamor*, etc. **medium**, proleptic after **tulit**. **exstructo** (neuter adj. used as subst.) denotes some sort of erection, either platform or mound.

307. **ferre**, see on l. 247 above. The handle of the axe is ornamented with raised silver work.

309. **caput nectentur**, see on iv. 137.

311, 312. The quiver may have been really Amazonian, as the Amazons helped the Trojans (i. 490); and the arrows Thracian, Thrace being allied with Troy (iii. 15). But perhaps **Amazoniam** and **Threiciis** are merely ornamental epithets.

313. **tereti**, 'smooth' or 'shapely.' **tereti gemma** is either descriptive abl. with **fibula**, or abl. instr. with **subnectit**, the gem acting as a button.

316–318. **corripiunt**, 'dash on to the course.' **limen**, the starting-point. **ultima signant**, 'mark the goal,' i. e. with their eyes as they run; cp. Plaut. Cist. iv. 2. 27 *Certe eum signat locum, ubi ea* (*cistella*) *excidit* ('has her eyes on the place'). The rendering (Con.) 'they—i. e. men sent to do so—are marking out the goal' (by drawing a line or other means), involves an awkward change of subject; and besides this the time for marking out the goal is before the start, not while the race is in progress.

324. Diores is so close behind Helymus (**sub ipso**) that his foremost

foot grazes (**terit**) Helymus' hindmost, and he almost touches Helymus' shoulder (**incumbens umero**). **calx** (heel) is used loosely for 'foot.'

325. supersint, transeat, vivid use of present subj. for pluperfect, 'if the course were longer, etc.'

326. 'He would slip past him to the front, or leave the contest undecided,' i. e. he would either win or make a dead heat of it. Such is the meaning, if we adopt the emendation **ambiguumve** for the MS. reading *ambiguumque*; and it is exactly paralleled by Il. xxiii. 382 Καί νύ κεν ἢ παρέλασσ', ἢ ἀμφήριστον ἔθηκεν. Con., retaining *ambiguumque*, translates 'would slip to the front, and pass him who is now doubtful,' i. e. would make him doubtful no longer, but defeated. He quotes Il. xxiii. 526 εἰ δέ κ' ἔτι προτέρω γένετο δρόμος ἀμφοτέροισιν, Τῷ κέν μιν παρέλασσ', οὐδ' ἀμφήριστον ἔθηκεν. But according to this version the construction would be exceedingly harsh and obscure, and moreover Helymus was as yet leading, and could not properly be called *ambiguus* in the sense suggested.

329. ut forte = ὡς ἔτυχεν, 'as it happened that;' cp. l. 388 *ut consederat*, vii. 509 *ut forte scindebant*. The sense 'where' (Catull. xi. 3 *litus ut longe resonante Eoa Tunditur unda*) hardly seems to occur in Virgil.

332. 'Could not keep his tottering step as he trod the soil.' **titubata,** an instance of a past participle of an intrans. verb used in a passive sense; cp. *desuetus* ii. 509, *placitus* iv. 38.

337. Euryalūs et. See on l. 284 above.

339. palma, in loose apposition to Diores.

340, 341. ora prima patrum, 'the gazing elders in the front rank.'

344. 'And worth that wins more favour where the form is fair.' **veniens** = 'showing itself.'

346, 347. 'Who has succeeded to the prize, and reached the third place in vain, should the first reward be bestowed on Salius.' Here, as often, the proper apodosis is not directly expressed, but only implied. If stated fully it would run, 'reached the third place, but it would be in vain, if the first reward,' etc. Cp. l. 355 below, *merui . . . ni tulisset*, and Ecl. ix. 45 *memini numeros, si verba tenerem*. **reddantur,** some MSS. read *reddentur*. For the sense 'rendered' or 'assigned' cp. xii. 817 *una superstitio superis quae reddita divis*.

355, 356. laude = *virtute*, 'merit,' as i. 461 *sunt hic etiam sua praemia laudi*. **tulisset,** 'had undone.' For the constr. see on l. 340 above.

357. simul his = ἅμα τοῖσδε, a poetical constr., found also in post-Aug. prose; cp. Hor. Sat. i. 10. 86 *simul his te, candide Furni, Prudens praetereo*, Tac. Ann. iii. 64 *pontifices et augures, septemviris simul et sodalibus Augustalibus*.

359. artem, 'the handiwork;' cp. Hor. Od. iv. 8. 5 *divite me scilicet artium*' ('works of art'). Some editions read *artes*, a poetic plural.

360. 'Which Greeks had taken down from Neptune's hallowed doors,'

i. e. from a Trojan temple; the shield (we must suppose) being afterwards captured from the Greeks, like that of Abas (iii. 286), though when this happened is not stated. Others take **Danais** as dat. incommodi—taken down as spoil from Greeks, who had fastened it up as an offering at Troy: but it is doubtful whether the phrase *Danais refixum* could bear this meaning (*refixum de poste et ademptum Danais*).

363. **praesens** almost = *promptus*, ready to act; 'a spirit of emprise.'

366. **auro vittisque** (hendiadys) = *vittis auratis*. Others refer **auro** to the custom of gilding the horns of a victim (G. i. 217), **velatum** being applied to both words by a strong zeugma. This **iuvencus**, however, is not intended for sacrifice, and the **vittae** are mere ornaments, like the coloured ribbons of a prize ox.

368. 'Dares with his giant frame advances.'

372, 373. 'Unconquered Butes huge of frame, who boasted that he came from Amycus' Bebrycian clan.' **veniens se ferebat** = ηὔχετο ἐρχόμενος: for **veniens** cp. x. 544 *veniens Marsorum montibus Umbro*. Con. connects **immani corpore** with **se ferebat** ('stalked along in giant bulk'), arguing that the use of *se ferre* as = *iactare* is unknown to Virgil. But it is in itself a perfectly legitimate meaning for the phrase. **Amycus**, a mythic pugilistic champion (king of the Bebryces in Bithynia), killed by Pollux in a combat described in Apoll. Rhod. ii. 51 sqq.

375. **prima in proelia**, 'for the beginning of the fight.'

378. **alius**, 'a match.'

380. **alacris**, masc. as Ter. Eun. ii. 3. 12 *quid tu* (*Chaerea*) *es tristis, quidve es alacris?* **excedere**, 'resign.'

384. **quo . . . usque**, 'how long?'

387. **gravis** with **castigat**, 'severely.'

388. **ut consederat**, 'as he chanced to be seated next him,' see on l. 329 above.

391. **nobis**, dat. ethicus: 'Where, pray, is that godlike teacher Eryx vaunted all for nought?'—i. e. how are we to see the result of his teaching?

394, 395. **gloria**, 'pride' or 'ambition;' cp. G. iv. 205 *tantus amor florum et generandi gloria mellis*, Tac. Ann. i. 43 *quos iam pudor ac gloria intrat*. **sed enim**, 'but in fact' (ἀλλὰ γάρ); cp. vi. 28 *reginae sed enim miseratus amorem*.

397, 398. 'Had I that youth that once was mine, the youth that makes yon shameless braggart proud,' etc. **fuerat**, for *erat*, a poetical usage; cp. x. 613 *si mihi quae quondam fuerat . . . vis in amore foret*, Ov. Ex Pont. iii. 3. 37 *non satis id fuerat; stultus quoque carmina feci*.

403. **intendere bracchia tergo**, hypallage for *intendere bracchiis tergum;* see iv. 506 *intenditque locum sertis*.

404. **tantorum**, etc., 'so vast the hides of seven huge oxen, all stiff

with lead and iron stitched in'—an exaggerated way of describing the vastness of the gauntlets.

406. **longeque recusat**, 'and recoils far back.' This seems on the whole better than the other possible translation, 'utterly rejects.'

411, 412. **tristem**, 'grim.' Eryx was killed by Hercules. **germanus**, Eryx was also a son of Venus (l. 24 above).

414. **his ego suetus**, 'to these I was inured,' *his* being the ordinary dat. after *suetus*.

415. **aemula**, old age is regarded as a 'jealous' rival to youth. 'Nor envious eld as yet was sprinkled white upon my brows' (Kenn.).

418. 'If this be good Aeneas' settled wish, and Acestes sanctions it with his authority.' **auctor**, better taken with **probat**, as above, than with **Acestes**, 'Acestes my backer.'

421. **duplicem amictum**, the *δίπλαξ* of Homer, a mantle in which two cloths of different colours were so interwoven as to form one double cloth.

422. The alliteration and the hypermeter (see on iv. 558) produce a metrical effect suggestive of something striking: 'bares his massive-jointed limbs, his massive frame and thews.' **artus**, 'joints.'

426. **in digitos arrectus**, 'on tip-toe;' *ἐπ' ἀκροτάτοισιν ἀερθείς* Apoll. Rh. ii. 90.

430–438. 'One quicker on his feet and trusting in his youth, the other stout with massive limbs—but his knees are feeble and unsteady beneath him, and troubled panting shakes his huge frame. Many a blow they interchange without effect; many a blow they pile on the hollow-sounding ribs and wake loud echoes on the chest: fists play quick and fast round ears and temples, while jaw-bones rattle 'neath some crashing blow. Firm stands Entellus (cp. *mole sua stat* x. 771), and in one unchanging posture shuns the blows by the motion of his body and watchful eye alone.' **ingeminant** might be intrans., with **vulnera** for nom. both to it and to **dant**; but in this case the change of subject from l. 433 would be extremely harsh. **aures**, the ears were the part principally aimed at by ancient boxers. **tela exit**, poetical use of intrans. verb with acc., instead of prep. and case: cp. xi. 750 *vim viribus exit*, G. iii. 499 *fontes avertitur*, Aen. i. 580 *erumpere nubem*, ii. 731 *omnem evasisse vicem*.

439. This simile is Virgil's own. Apollonius Rhodius has one of a wave threatening to overwhelm a ship (ii. 70 sqq.). **molibus**, 'engines.'

444. **a vertice**, 'from above.'

446, 447. **ultro**, untouched by Dares. The same idea is repeated in **ipse**: it was the force of *his own* blow which brought him to the ground. **gravis graviterque**, repetition to heighten effect, as in Homer's *μέγας μεγαλωστί*.

451. **caelo**, poetical dat. of recipient, with verb of motion, as ii. 186 *caeloque educere*, 398 *demittimus Orco*.

456, 457. aequore toto, 'over all the plain;' abl. of extent, common with *totus*; cp. ii. 421 *totaque agitavimus urbe*. **ille**, pleonastic use of the pronoun for the purpose of emphasis.

466. 'Feel you not more than mortal strength, and Heaven's favour changed?' **conversa**, because his hitherto invincible career (ll. 370–374) has now been checked. The meaning of **vires alias** seems determined by **cede deo**: the gods, and especially Eryx, are fighting on the side of Entellus.

473. superans animis, 'in the height of his triumph'—lit. 'in excess of spirits.'

479, 480. libravit, 'swung,' lit. 'balanced.' **arduus**, 'rising high' (to the stroke). **illisit**, sc. *caestus*.

481. The monosyllabic termination well expresses the sudden fall of the ox. Cp. i. 105 *insequitur cumulo praeruptus aquae mons*; Hor. A.P. 139 *parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus*.

483. meliorem, i. e. 'better' than the life of such a coward as Dares: cp. xii. 296 for the reverse idea of a man's life being better than sheep or oxen.

486. The MSS. are divided between **dicit** and *ponit*; but the former is perhaps preferable, as *ponit* may have arisen from a recollection of l. 292.

488. traiecto in fune, abl. of circumstance (as *in iaculis* l. 37)—'with a string passed across it;' cp. Hom. Il. xxiii. 853 *τρήρωνα πέλειαν Λεπτῇ μηρίνθῳ δῆσεν ποδός*.

492. locus, 'the turn' (i. e. the lot denoting the turn) comes out (from the helmet): *ἐκ δ' ἔθορε κλῆρος κυνέης* Il. vii. 182.

493, 494. modo victor, 'late a prizeman:' Mnestheus was second. **oliva** is a slight inconsistency with l. 246, where bay appears to be the naval wreath.

496. iussus, by Athene: see Iliad iv. 86 sqq. **confundere** translates Homer's *σὺν γ' ὅρκι' ἔχευαν* (ib. 269).

504. venit, 'reaches the mark.'

505, 506. pennis, abl. of respect with **timuitque exterrita**, 'fluttered in affright.' **plausu**, of the spectators (*ἀτὰρ κελάδησαν Ἀχαιοί* Il. xxiii. 869).

507, 508. 'Next keen Mnestheus took his stand and drew his bow as he aimed on high, and eye and shaft found level true.' **adducto**, of the string drawn to the chest, *Νευρὴν μὲν μαζῷ πέλασεν* Il. iv. 123. Virgil follows Homer's description of the second shot with which Meriones kills the dove after Teucer had cut the cords, except that Meriones snatches the bow from Teucer's hand.

511. innexa pedem, 'tied by the foot;' see on iv. 509.

512. alta seems better than the other reading *atra*, which might be introduced to agree with *nigra nube* l. 516, and is at any rate a mere epithet: whereas 'to the clouds above' has point.

513. rapidus, 'hurriedly:' σπερχόμενος δ' ἄρα Μηριόνης Hom. *l. c.* **fratrem**, Pandarus is a deified patron of archery, as Entellus of boxing.

520. contendit, some MSS. give *contorsit*, which, though less appropriate, might have been used, as we have had *torsisti* in l. 497 above. But there seems no reason to alter *contendit*, which is supported by Nonius.

521. 'Displaying his veteran skill and twanging bow.' For the quantity of **patĕr** see on iv. 64.

522–524. 'Hereupon a strange sight suddenly meets our eyes, appointed for a solemn sign; the great event in after years explained it, and all too late did fear-inspiring seers proclaim its omens'—i. e. its meaning was not understood till the time of fulfilment. The reference is to some subsequent event in the history of Sicily—perhaps the wars with Rome and fall of Syracuse B. C. 212. The old explanation was that the burning of the ships was the event referred to; but this disaster was too slight, and too easily repaired, to suit the present description.

525. liquidis in nubibus, 'the clouds of heaven:' cp. l. 217 *iter liquidum*, 'through the sky.'

534. exsortem ducere honores, 'draw a prize out of due course,' *exsortem* being adverbial. Some MSS. give *honorem*, 'draw a special prize.' But *honores* has much stronger MS. authority, and being the harder reading, is probably to be preferred.

537, 538. in magno munere, abl. of circumstance, 'as (i. e. under the conditions of) a noble gift;' cp. viii. 273 *tantarum in munere laudum Cingite*, etc., Cic. Verr. ii. 3. § 115 *hoc vix ab Apronio in summo beneficio pro iis impetratum est*. On **ferre . . . dederat** see on l. 247 above.

541. 'Nor did good Eurytion grudge the honour set above his own.' For construction (usually accus. of what is grudged) cp. Cic. Rull. § 102 *illi qui honori inviderunt meo*, Phil. vi. 4 *non invidebit huic meae gloriae*.

542. quamvis with indic. Hor. Od. i. 28. 13 *quamvis . . . concesserat*, Liv. ii. 40 *quamvis . . . perveneras*: never in Cicero except in a passage where (Or. iii. 23. 86) he joins to his discourse a verse of Lucilius.

543. proximus donis, 'next in gifts.'

545 sqq. This account of the 'Ludus Troianus' was a compliment to Augustus, who (Suetonius, Aug. 43) had revived it at Rome, and also to prominent Romans whose sons, perhaps, had recently appeared in it. As a special feature and surprise, not mentioned in the programme (ll. 66 sqq.), it heightens the liberality of Aeneas, and forms a pleasant contrast to the intense excitement of previous competitions. **certamine**, 'the games' in general.

547. Epytiden, Periphas, the son of Epytus (Ἠπυτίδης), is mentioned in the Iliad (xvii. 323) as herald of Anchises.

549. cursus instruxit equorum, 'has marshalled the manœuvres of

his cavalry,' a Virgilian variety for the ordinary phrase, *instruere equitatum.*

550. **ducat,** petitio obliqua after **dic** = *impera.* **avo,** 'in honour of his grandsire.'

553. **pariter,** 'in line.'

556. **tonsa,** 'trim.' From l. 673 it appears that they wore helmets: but it is better to suppose that Virgil has been guilty of a slight inconsistency, than that the wreath was worn over, or just underneath, the helmet.

558, 559. The *torques* ('a pliant circlet of twisted gold') was worn loosely round the neck, resting on the top of the chest (**pectore summo**).

560–562. **terni** = *tres*, i. e. one leader for each troop: **bis seni,** distributive; twelve to each leader. **agmine partito,** the whole body was divided into three companies. **paribus magistris,** i. e. *ductoribus:* each troop having its own captain.

564–567. **referens,** 'recalling.' **auctura Italos,** 'to swell the Italian nation,' i. e. through his descendants. **Polites,** a son of Priam, killed by Pyrrhus at the capture of Troy, see ii. 526 foll. **quem . . . albam,** 'riding on a Thracian steed with spots of white—a steed with white pasterns on each foot, and a white blaze upon his lofty forehead.' **vestigia pedis,** a periphrasis for **pedes, primi** denoting the front part of each foot.

568. **Atii,** in compliment to Atia, mother of Augustus. She was daughter of M. Atius Balbus and Julia, a sister of Julius Caesar.

572. Repeated from l. 538 above.

573. **Trinacriis** must be the right reading, the contrast being between the Sidonian horse of Iulus, and the Sicilian horses on which the rest were mounted. But the best MSS. are divided between *Trinacrii,* which would be extremely flat as an epithet of Acestes; and *Trinacriae,* which, if construed with **pubes,** would be contrary to fact.

576. **veterumque parentum,** 'ancestors.'

578. **lustravere in equis,** 'surveyed on horseback.'

580–587. 'They gallop asunder in even order, and break up the three companies with parted bands; and again at call they wheel round, and charge with levelled spears. Then they essay new movements to and fro, still confronting one another; cut circle across circle alternate, and raise the semblance of an armed battle. Now they expose their backs in flight, now level their spears for the charge, now ride abreast in truce.' **terni,** each of the three companies divides into two **chori,** or bands, one of which goes off to the right, the other to the left. Then the three *chori* on the right, and the three *chori* on the left, turn round and charge one another. This is better than to suppose that the boys begin by being in *one* body, and then break up into these companies. **inde alios,** the language is here purposely indefinite, and it is useless to try and ascertain the exac nature of the evolutions. They are merely a confused maze of charges, retreats, and circles

entangling circles. **adversi spatiis**, lit. 'opposite in their courses,' i.e. throughout the evolutions each *chorus* retains its position directly opposite its neighbour.

588-591. 'As once in lofty Crete, so legend tells, the labyrinth had its path inwoven among blind walls, and the tangled puzzle of its thousand ways, to baffle progress by a maze beyond comprehension and without return.' **signa sequendi**, the marks by which one follows the path. **falleret**, the subj. denotes purpose. **error**, cp. Catull. lxii. 114, 115 *ne labyrintheis a flexibus egredientem Tecti frustraretur inobservabilis error.*

593. impediunt, make intricate and entangled movements; **texunt**, interweave charge with retreat. Both words bring out the comparison between the manœuvres and the labyrinth.

595. The words **luduntque per undas** are omitted in one of the best MSS., and added in a later hand in two of the others. But they are unobjectionable in themselves, and improve the passage.

602. 'The game' (i.e. **honos** = 'observance') 'is now called "Troy," the boys the "Trojan band."' For the agreement of **dicitur** with predicate rather than subject cp. Ter. And. iii. 3. 23 *amantium irae amoris integratio est.* **Troia** was the name of the game (Suet. Caes. 39 *Troiam lusit turma puerorum*): and to place the comma at **pueri** and translate, 'the boys are called Troy, the band the Trojan band,' seems very needless.

604–699. Iris, sent by Juno, urges the Trojan women to burn the ships and save themselves from a further voyage. See Introd. to this book.

604, 605. hinc, 'hereupon,' so the best MSS. **fidem novavit**, 'changed her old faith for new' (Con.). **tumulo**, dat. of the recipient. **referunt sollemnia**, 'pay the appointed rites.'

608. saturata dolorem, Gk. constr. of acc. after passive verb. See on iv. 509.

609, 610. illa . . . virgo, parallel to the Homeric use, e.g. Il. iii. 118 *αὐτὰρ ὁ Ταλθύβιον προΐει κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων*, in which the pronoun first obscurely indicates the subject which is afterwards more directly introduced: cp. x. 198 *ille etiam patriis agmen erit Ocnus ab oris.* **mille coloribus**, descriptive abl. = *multicolorem.*

616. superesse, use of infin. to express emotion; cp. i. 37 *mene incepto desistere victam.*

619. faciem, 'shape.'

620. Tmarii, of Tmarus, a hill in Epirus: Beroe must then have left Troy with Helenus, married in Epirus, and (perhaps as a widow) left Epirus with Aeneas (iii. 472 sqq.). The MSS. vary between TMARII, TMARI, and MARI. The v. l. *Ismarii* (of Ismarus in Thrace) in one late MS. is internally plausible; Thrace and Troy being allied countries (iii. 15), so that a Trojan might well marry a Thracian. But the only trace of it in good MSS. is an attempt to correct MARI to IMMARI.

621. fuissent, subj. in virtual oratio obliqua—'who, she knew, had once

had rank and name and children.' The clause is thus referred to the mind of Iris, and suggests her reason for choosing the form of Beroe.

623, 624. **quas . . . traxerit** gives the reason of **miserae.**

626. Virgil's chronology here seems inconsistent with i. 755, where the time of Aeneas' arrival at Carthage is called the **septima aestas** of wandering: for we are told (l. 46 above) that at the time of the games a year has passed since the funeral of Anchises. That year must have been spent at Carthage *after* Dido's speech at the end of Aen. i: so that the year of the games would be the *eighth*, not the seventh, **post Troiae excidium.** The details of the chronology, however, are indefinite (see Kenn. Excursus to Aen. v. 626): and we may suppose that a final revision, had Virgil lived to make it, would have removed such actual discrepancies as that under notice.

627, 628. **freta, terras,** poetical acc. of extent with **ferimur**; cp. i. 524 *maria omnia vecti.* **saxa, sidera** with **emensae.**

633, 634. 'Shall no town now bear the name of Troy?'

639. **prodigiis,** dat. ethicus, so far as they are concerned. 'Nor do such prodigies brook delay.' **quattuor,** Servius suggests that one was raised by each of the four captains in the ship race.

650. **dudum,** 'but now.' The force of Pyrgo's appeal depends on a *short* interval being implied—'This cannot be Beroe, whom she has only just left unable to move.'

651. **tali quod,** etc., 'to think that she alone was absent,' etc., the subj. of virtual orat. obliqua.

655, 656. 'Distracted between fatal love of the land they possess, and the realm which calls them with the voice of destiny.' **miserum,** because it leads them to such excesses.

657. **paribus alis,** 'even wings.'

658. 'Traced a huge bow in her flight:' the track of her flight was marked by the appearance of a rain-bow.

660. **focis penetralibus,** 'the hearths within,' i. e. in the centre of each home, connected with the worship of Lares and Penates: cp. Catull. lxviii. 102 *penetrales focos;* Cic. N. D. ii. 27. 67 (explaining the name *Penates*) *ab eo quod penitus insident; ex quo etiam 'penetrales' a poetis vocantur.*

663. **abiete,** abl. of resp., 'sterns of painted firwood.' The ordinary expression would have been *picta abiete puppes.*

664. **tumulum,** 'the tomb of Anchises.' **cuneos,** 'the wedge-shaped blocks of seats in the amphitheatre.'

666. **respiciunt,** 'look back and see,' an exceptional usage.

667–669. **ut . . . sic.** Ascanius rode up just as he was; see note on l. 329 above. **acer equo,** 'riding hard.' **magistri,** his guardians; cp. l. 546. **exanimes,** 'breathless' (with pursuing him).

676, 677. **diversa,** virtually adverbial; *huc illuc per litora.* **sicubi,** sc. *sunt*—'some rocky cave.'

678, 679. **piget**, etc., 'hateful is their own deed and the light of day; with sobered hearts they know their friends again, and Juno is driven from their souls.'

682, 683. **stuppa**, 'tow,' used to close the interstices of the planks. **vapor**, 'heat,' as in Lucr. i. 664 *Aestifer ignis uti lumen iacit atque vaporem.* **toto corpore**, 'over all their frame;' abl. of place.

686. **auxilio vocare**, 'summons to his aid,' dat. of purpose, like *habere quaestui*, *vitio dare*, etc. *in auxilium* would be the usual expression.

687–689. **exosus**, sc. *es*. **si quid . . . humanos**, an appeal to what Jupiter has been to them in time past—'if thine old loving-kindness e'er looks down on human troubles.' **pietas**, which generally denotes the dutiful feeling of men to gods or those who have claims upon them, here denotes the reciprocal feeling of gods to men (Con.). Cp. ii. 536 *si qua est caelo pietas*, iv. 382 *pia numina.*

691, 692. **quod superest**, 'all that is left (for you to inflict and us to suffer),' cp. xii. 643 *Exscindine domos, id rebus defuit unum, Perpetiar?* and the common usage of the phrase in Lucretius. Another interpretation is 'what is left of us,' making *quod superest* acc. after **demitte**. But the insertion of **si mereor** certainly suggests that *me* should be supplied as the object of *demitte.*

693–697. 'Scarce had he spoken, when with bursts of rain a dark storm furiously raged, and thunder shook hill and plain; down poured from all the sky its murky stores of rain, black with misty southern blasts, and the ships are filled to overflowing.' **sine more**, of lawless violence, cp. vii. 377 *sine more furit lymphata per urbem.* **ardua terrarum**, neut. plur. with partitive gen., like *occulta saltuum*, *angusta viarum*, etc. **densis**, thick with clouds, cp. Georg. iii. 196 *aquilo densus.* **super** is taken by Con. and others as = *desuper*, a meaning which it could hardly bear.

702. **mutabat**, lit. 'shifted about:' 'was pondering great cares now one way, now another, in his changeful heart.'

704. **Nautes.** According to the legend he was the priest of Pallas, and brought the Palladium from Troy to Rome, whence it passed to his descendants, the Roman Nautii.

706, 707. These two lines are parenthetical, explaining the nature of the power given by Pallas to Nautes; ''twas she that interpreted for him what Heaven's great wrath foreboded, or the course of fate required.' **quae** goes with **responsa**, the responses, in poetical language, being identified with the events themselves. Ribb. reads *hac* (sc. *arte*): but MSS. agree in **haec.**

708. **solatus** = παραμυθούμενος. **isque** resumes the sentence interrupted at l. 706, the past part. being used, as occasionally in Virgil, with a present force: cp. Aen. i. 481 *tunsae*, Georg. i. 339 *operatus.*

714. 'All who have begun to weary of their high emprise and of your fortunes.'

717. **habeant**, petitio obliqua with **sine.**

718. **permisso**, i. e. by Aeneas.

720. Another reading is *animum*, acc. of the part.: but **animo** is the best attested.

721, 722. **subvecta**, 'upwafted.' **facies**, 'image.' **caelo**, Anchises is said to come down from *heaven*, because in the present case it is a vision sent by Jupiter which appears (l. 726), and not the actual shade of Anchises in Elysium.

726. **classibus**, poetical dat. of recipient, instead of the usual preposition and case: cp. Ecl. vii. 47 *solstitium pecori defendite.*

730. 'A hardy race of savage life awaits your conquering hand in Latium.'

734. **tristes umbrae**, 'those gloomy shades,' in apposition to **Tartara**: so the best MSS. The other reading *tristesve umbrae* (for which however there is not much support) would be only a repetition of **impia Tartara**; though Con. thinks it might imply the intermediate region between Tartarus and Elysium.

735. **colo | huc**, the hiatus is justified by the caesura, and by the break in the sense.

738, 739. 'And now farewell; for dewy Night is in her mid career; I feel the breath of cruel morning's panting steeds.' So the Ghost in Hamlet, i. 5. 58—'But soft! methinks I scent the morning air;' ib. 88 sqq. 'Fare thee well at once! The glowworm shows the matin to be near . . . Adieu, adieu, adieu!'

741. **quo deinde?** 'Where next' (or 'now')?

744. The Lar was the household god. The 'shrine of aged (**canae**) Vesta' was the hearth, the centre of the family worship, with its never dying fire.

746. **arcessit**, the parallel form *accersit* is given by some of the oldest MSS.

749. **consiliis**, dat., 'his plans are not delayed.'

750, 751. **transcribunt** (adapted from the more usual *ascribere*) implies enrolment in a fresh city. **deponunt**, etc., 'and put on shore all those that will, the souls that long no more for high renown.' For **egentes** of *feeling* a want (Greek δέομαι, English 'to want') cp. Plaut. Asin. iii. 3. 1 *tui amans abeuntis egeo*, Hor. A. P. 154 *Si plausoris eges aulaea manentis.*

753. A hypermetric line: see on iv. 558.

754. 'In number few, their courage keen for war.' For the apposition cp. xi. 338 *largus opum et lingua melior, sed frigida bello Dextera.*

755. **designat aratro**, according to the Roman custom in founding cities, as exemplified in the story of Romulus and Remus.

758. 'Proclaims a court, and gives laws to the elders he has summoned.' **indicit forum**, cp. the phrase *agere forum*, 'hold a court.'

759. There was a famous temple of Venus on Mount Eryx.

761. **Anchises** as a hero has a *τέμενος βωμός τε θυήεις* (Od. viii. 363 etc.) assigned to him.

763. **placidi**, etc., 'calm winds allow the sea to rest.' The winds are said to do that which by absenting themselves they allow to be done: cp. Ecl. ii. 26 *et lacidum ventis staret mare;* Soph. Aj. 674 *δεινῶν δ' ἄημα πνευμάτων ἐκοίμισε Στένοντα πόντον.*

766. **noctemque diemque**, acc. after **morantur**, 'prolong the night and the day.'

768. 'To whom the face of the deep once seemed so cruel, and its very name intolerable.' The MSS. vary between **nomen** and *numen* ('its power'); but the latter expression would be very unusual, as Virgil does not speak of the sea as a god.

774–776. **tonsae**, 'trim.' **caput evinctus**, for the constr. see on iv. 137. **procul**, 'apart.' **proicit**, so the MSS.; *porricit* Forb., Con. and other editors. See on l. 238 above.

785, 786. **media de gente Phrygum**, 'from the very heart of Phrygia.' **traxe** = *traxisse;* cp. iv. 682 *exstinxti,* xi. 118 *vixet.*

793. **per scelus** with **actis**, 'goaded to crime,' cp. the Greek *δι' ὕβρεως μολεῖν.*

795. **terrae**, dat., where in prose the ordinary constr. would have been *in* with the abl.

796, 797. 'For the rest, may it be lawful in thy sight that we should sail safely over the sea. **quod superest** might also be taken to = 'the remnant;' cp. l. 691, where there is a similar doubt. **tibi**, dat. ethicus, *quod per te licet:* Con. however takes *dare vela tibi* (Neptuno) as analogous to such phrases as *dare vela ventis*, and = 'spread sails to thee.'

805–807. **exanimata**, sc. *metu*, as Cic. Cat. iv. 2. § 3 *neque meam mentem non domum saepe revocat exanimata uxor et abiecta metu filia.* **repleti**; so Xanthus in Il. xxi. 219 *Οὐδέ τί πῃ δύναμαι προχέειν ῥόον εἰς ἅλα δῖαν Στεινόμενος νεκύεσσι.*

809. The combat of Aeneas with Achilles is described in Il. xx. 158 sqq. **nec dis . . . aequis**; so Achilles in Il. xx. 334 *Ὃς σεῦ ἅμα κρείσσων καὶ φίλτερος ἀθανάτοισιν.*

810, 811. **nube cava**, 'enfolding mist.' **periurae Troiae**, in allusion to the story of Laomedon cheating Apollo and Neptune of their promised reward for building Troy.

817. **auro**, i. e. *aureo iugo*, instrumental abl. This seems better than to take it as dative = *currui aureo.*

818. **manibusque**, etc. 'gives free play to the flowing reins.'

820, 821. 'Down sink the waves: the heaving surface of the deep lies smooth beneath his thundering wheels; the storm-clouds vanish from the expanse of heaven.' **aquis**, abl. of respect, lit. 'is smoothed in respect of its waters.'

822. **cete**, Greek plural, = *κήτη*; so *mele* Lucret. ii. 412, *pelage* ib. v. 36.

829. **intendi bracchia velis** (lit. 'stretch the yardarms with sails') = 'stretch the sails on the yardarms,' a Virgilian inversion for *intendi vela brachiis*. Cp. l. 403 *intendere brachia tergo*, iv. 506 *intenditque locum sertis*.

830–832. 'Each crew alike haul the sheet; now left, now right, with one accord they spread the sails; alike they turn and turn again the lofty yardarms' points; a favouring breeze bears on the fleet.' **una, pariter**, not of all the sailors in one ship, but of all the ships in the fleet, taking their cue from the leading vessel, and shifting their sails to one side and another to catch a varying breeze. **fecere pedem** (cp. *facere vela*, 'make sail') = 'to work the sheet' (Gk. πούς), the sheet being a rope fastened to each of the lower corners of the sail, to keep it in position; and as the sail was shifted the sheet had of course to be tightened or relaxed. **cornua torquent**, as the sails were turned to one side or the other, the extremities of the yards would be turned at the same time. **sua flamina**, cp. Hor. Epod. ix. 30 *ventis iturus non suis*.

835. The **meta** marked the turning-point in the course, and so is called **media**, 'half way.'

844, 845. 'Fairly blow the breezes; 'tis the hour for rest. Lay down your head, and steal your weary eyes from toil.' **aequatae**, i. e. blowing evenly and steadily. **datur**, 'is appointed;' cp. l. 798 *si dant ea moenia Parcae*. **labori**, poetical use of dat. of indirect object instead of the more usual preposition and case: cp. Ecl. vii. 47 *solstitium pecori defendite*.

850, 851. 'For why should I entrust Aeneas to the deceitful breezes—myself too so often beguiled by the treachery of a calm sky.' **et** = 'and that too' Some editors take **auris** as abl. with **deceptus**, supplying a dative after **credam**, **et** being then a mere copula between **auris** and **fraude**. But the run of the lines seems to make it certain that **auris** should be taken with **credam**.

853. **nusquam**, poetical for *nunquam*.

857. **primos**, adverbial, '*begun* to relax.'

858. **et**, the ordinary way of expressing the relation between this clause and the preceding one would be by a temporal conjunction (*quum*): but *et* is here used for the sake of variety. Cp. Ecl. vii. 7 *ipse caper deerraverat, atque ego Daphnin Aspicio*: and see below on vi. 162.

861. **ales** with **se sustulit**, 'rose upon his wings.'

864, 865. **adeo** is enclitic, emphasising **iam**, as l. 268 above. For the Sirens see Hom. Od. xii. 39 sqq. Virgil introduces the new idea of **scopulos**, as if the danger was that of shipwreck; and omits all mention of the characteristic feature in the Homeric story—the Sirens' song. The expression **difficiles quondam** seems to be an oversight, as Aeneas himself belonged to the heroic age.

NOTES TO BOOK VI.

AENEAS lands at Cumae in Italy, as directed by Helenus (iii. 441); and after hearing from the Sibyl the oracle of Apollo (ll. 43–97), receives her instructions for his promised descent into the lower world to visit Anchises (v. 732). He pays funeral rites to Misenus (ll. 156–235): and then in company with the Sibyl begins the descent (l. 262). They cross the Styx (ll. 385–425), and visit, first, the neutral region assigned to those whose life had been untimely cut short—infants, suicides, persons unjustly condemned, victims of unrequited love (as Dido), and warriors fallen in battle (ll. 426–547); secondly, Tartarus, the place of punishment (ll. 548–627); thirdly, Elysium, 'a heroic Valhalla for prowess, genius, and worth' (ll. 637 sqq.). Here they meet the shade of Anchises, who unfolds the doctrine of the *anima mundi* and transmigration of souls, and shows them the shades hereafter to return to earth as the great names in Roman history, among them the young Marcellus (ll. 724–893); finally dismissing Aeneas through the ivory gate.

This visit of Aeneas to the underworld is a reproduction of the *νεκυία* of Homer (Od. xi), enlarged and varied with much detail by the poetical art of Virgil. Homer describes a place of shadowy existence, where the *νεκύων ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα* live an objectless life: Virgil has a territory mapped out into regular divisions, with precise detail instead of shadowy outline. The last and most characteristic scene of the picture is entirely his own. The central object of the poem, the glory of Rome and of Augustus (see Introd. to Aen. i), suggests the prophetic anticipation by Anchises of the future history of Rome, as he points to the spirits of Romans yet to be. This involves the doctrine of transmigration of souls, which puts all spirits, after their deliverance from the body, through a definite period of purgation, and sends them up to earth to reanimate other frames. This philosophical speculation on the state after death is, strictly speaking, inconsistent with those simpler and more popular notions of future reward and punishment and a localised Elysium and Tartarus which meet us in the Platonic *μῦθοι*, and which Virgil reproduces in the earlier portions of this book. The two lines of thought, however, are mingled not only in the poetry of Pindar, but in the prose of Plato (e.g. in the 'Phaedo' and 'Republic' book x): and Virgil embodies them both as fit vehicles for poetic imagination. 'The ordinary popular mythology is put side by side with the doctrine of transmigration, and the reader is left to harmonise them as he can.'

The notion that Aeneas' descent into the shades is an allegorical description of initiation into the Orphic and Eleusinian mysteries rests, as Conington

shows (Introd. to Aen. vi), merely on a few resemblances of details, and on the unwarranted assumption that there was any recognised doctrine upon the lower world which the mysteries copied in detail. There may be some relation between Virgil's conceptions and the Orphic mysteries; and Prof. Nettleship points out that the two bards mentioned by name are Orpheus and Musaeus (Aen. vi. 645, 667): but the story of Orpheus had struck his imagination before he wrote the sixth Aeneid. All that we can say is that this book 'reflects in a poetry rare, exquisite, luminous, majestic, the tangled growth of ideas, mythical, mystical, and philosophical, which had sprung up between the times represented by the Odyssey and those of Virgil.'

2. **Euboicis**; Cumae being a colony from Chalcis in Euboea, so *Chalcidica arce*, l. 17 below.

4. **fundabat**, the imperfect, as Con. suggests, perhaps expresses the length of time occupied in mooring the several ships.

6–8. **semina**, cp. *ignis semina* Lucr. vi. 163, σπέρμα πυρός Od. v. 174. **tecta** in apposition with **silvas**. **rapit**, 'plunder' (for fuel). The search for wood and water is being described (*lignatio*, *aquatio* in military language); and the rendering 'scours' (in pursuit of game) seems less appropriate. Cp. below ll. 179–182 *itur in antiquam silvam*, *stabula alta ferarum*, *procumbunt piceae*, etc., where, as here, wild beasts are mentioned, though the purpose of entering the forest is not to hunt, but to get timber.

9–12. 'But good Aeneas hies him away (**procul**) to the hill, where Apollo reigns on high (**altus**), the Sibyl's dread retreat—the Sibyl, in whom the Delian seer inspires high thoughts, unfolding things to be.' **procul** belongs to the whole sentence, and refers to the distance of both cave and temple from the spot where Aeneas lands. **mentem animumque**, a poetical tautology, as Lucr. i. 74 *omne immensum peragravit mente animoque*; Cic. Legg. i. 22. 5 *animo ac mente conceperit*.

13. **Triviae lucos**, the grove of Diana, which lay in front of the temple of Apollo. The Sibyl was *Phoebi Triviaeque sacerdos*, l. 35 below.

16, 17. **enavit**, 'sailed forth;' cp. Lucr. iii. 590 (of the departing soul) *Quum prolapsa foras enaret in aëris auras*. **gelidas ad Arctos**, 'to the cold north,' Cumae lying northwards from Crete. **Chalcidica**, see on l. 2.

18, 19. **his**, virtually abverbial; 'here first brought safe to earth.' **remigium alarum**, 'the oarage of his wings:' cp. Lucr. vi. 743 *remigi oblitae pennarum*, Aesch. Agam. 52 πτερύγων ἐρέτμοῖσιν ἐρεσσόμενοι.

20–30. The scenes wrought by Daedalus on the doors of his temple. **Androgeus**, son of Minos, for whose murder the Athenians (**Cecropidae**) had to pay a yearly tribute of seven youths (and seven maidens, not here mentioned by Virgil) to feed the Minotaur.

22, 23. **corpora**, periphrastic, like the Gk. δέμας, cp. ii. 18 *delecta virum sortiti corpora furtim Includunt*. **stat**, etc. 'There stands the urn, the

lots drawn; on the other side corresponds the Gnosian land, rising from the sea.' The sculpture of Crete was a 'pendant' to that of Athens.

24. **hic**, i. e. on the Cretan side. **supposta furto**, 'stealthily mated,' *furto* being = *furtim*, as in iv. 337 *abscondere furto fugam*.

27. 'Here was that house at which he toiled, with the puzzle that none might unravel.' **labor domus**, as *operum laborem* G. ii. 155, Aen. i. 455.

28. **reginae**, 'the princess,' i. e. Ariadne, daughter of Minos, who fell in love with Theseus, and for whose sake Daedalus presented him with the thread by which he was enabled to find his way through the labyrinth. **sed enim**, 'however,' like ἀλλὰ γάρ in Greek: cp. i. 19 *progeniem sed enim . . . duci audierat*.

30. **vestigia**, i. e. of Theseus.

31. **sineret**, protasis with *si* omitted: cp. Cic. Verr. 3. 97 *negaret hac aestimatione se usum, vos id credidissetis*. The imperf. subj. here denotes what *might have been* the case, 'had grief permitted, thou wouldst have had,' etc.

33. **omnia**, dissyllable by synizesis; cp. vii. 237 *verba precantia*.

38. **intacto**, 'that has not felt the yoke.'

39. **praestiterit**, 'it were best,' the subj. being used to avoid the harshness of a direct statement.

40. **morantur**, 'delay (to execute) the rites enjoined;' cp. *iussos honores* iii. 547.

42–44. The *adytum*, whence comes the oracular response (l. 98), is a cavern in the rock like that at Delphi. **centum** is of course a poetical expression for a large number; and all that we need understand is that there are a number of perforations in the rock, converging in the *adytum*.

45. **limen**, sc. *antri*.

46–53. **cui talia**, etc., 'as thus she speaks before the door, her face, her colour change, her hair dishevelled flies; her bosom pants, her wild heart swells with frenzy; taller she seems, her voice no mortal voice, since the nearer presence of the god inspires her. "So slow," she cries, "at vows and prayers? Aeneas of Troy so slow? Naught else shall part asunder the mighty portals of the spell-bound shrine."' **maior videri**, like *niveus videri* Hor. Od. iv. 2. 59, an explanatory infin. in imitation of the Greek. **cessas in vota**, a Virgilian variation for the ordinary constr. *in votis* or *a votis*. **enim**, referring to the suppressed thought (*fer preces*). For **attonitae** cp. Lucan. ii. 21 *sic funere primo Attonitae tacuere domus*. By a striking personification the feelings of the worshippers are transferred to the shrine itself.

57–60. **direxti** = *direxisti*, cp. *accestis* i. 201, *traxe* v. 786. **penitus repostas**, 'lying far away.' **Massylum**, an example of the old gen. in *-um*, not uncommon in poetry in the case of names of peoples, cp. *Achivum*, *Italum*, *Rutulum*, etc. **Syrtibus**, dat. after **praetenta**.

62. 'Thus far alone may Trojan ill-hap have followed us.' **fuerit**, jussive use of subj.

64. **obstitit**, 'offended;' so Sil. It. xvii. 551 *tantumne obstat mea gloria divis?*

67. **fatis**, probably dat., 'due to my destiny,' though it might be taken as abl.

68. **agitata**, 'storm-tossed.'

69 sqq. An anachronistic allusion to the Ludi Apollinares, established B.C. 212, and to the temple of Palatine Apollo founded by Augustus B.C. 28. To this temple the Sibylline books were moved from the Capitol, under charge of *quindecimviri* (Hor. Carm. Saec. 70); and it was the seat of the famous 'Palatine' Library. Propertius (iii. 23 ed. Paley) describes the temple, at whose consecration he was present, as built *claro marmore*, with a statue of Apollo between those of Latona and Diana (Trivia).

72, 73. **sortes**, 'oracles,' i.e. the Sibylline books. **lectos viros**, the *quindecimviri* referred to in the previous note.

74. **foliis**, Aeneas makes this request following the advice of Helenus in iii. 440, who had warned him that the Sibyl wrote her prophecies on leaves, which were scattered by the wind when the cavern door opened.

76. **canas**, petitio obliqua. **dedit**, 'made an end.' *Dare* in Lucret. and Virg. often = 'make,' 'cause,' etc. Cp. iii. 70 *placataque venti Dant maria*, Lucret. v. 348 *darent late cladem*.

77–80. 'But, still resisting Phoebus, the seer tosses wildly in awful guise within the cave, to shake from her breast the mighty god: so much the more he plies her raving lips, tames her wild heart, and moulds her by constraint to his will.' The metaphor is that of a wild horse trying to throw its rider; hence **patiens, excussisse, os fatigat, premendo. immanis** with **bacchatur. si possit**, 'to see if she can.' **excussisse**, perf. for present, a poetical licence especially common in elegiacs because of its metrical convenience.

81. **patuere**, notice the perf. to express instantaneous action.

84. **terrae**, possessive gen., *pericula* being understood. There is a variant *terra*, which is easier, but not so well supported.

86. 'But they shall not also wish that they had come'—i.e. they shall wish moreover that they had not—they shall sorely repent it.

88, 89. All the elements of disaster before Troy will be reproduced—the rivers to carry off dead corpses (cp. i. 100 *tot Simois correpta sub undis . . . fortia corpora volvit*), the hostile camp, the leader goddess-born, like Achilles. Probably the rivers Tiber and Numicus are intended to answer to the Simois and Xanthus. The Rutulian camp corresponds to that of the Greeks; Turnus, son of the nymph Venilia (x. 76), to Achilles. **Latio**, local abl.

90, 91. **addita** strengthens **nec usquam aberit**—'Juno shall haunt the Trojans, and never leave their side.' So Hor. Od. iii. 4. 78 *nequitiae additus Custos*. **cum** = *quo tempore*.

93. **coniunx hospita**, 'an alien bride,' i.e. Lavinia.

96. quam, etc., 'go on more boldly than your fortune shall allow,' a rhetorical exaggeration, but an effective one. It would be possible to translate 'as far as fortune shall allow,' on the analogy of *quam potest;* cp. Cic. Phil. ii. 44. 114 *quam volent, illi cedant.* But this seems less likely. *Qua*, an easier reading, is given by some editors, but has hardly any MS. support.

97. Graia urbe, Pallanteum, the capital of Evander's kingdom.

98–101. 'In such strain does Cumae's Sibyl utter her dread riddles from the shrine, wrapping truth in mystery, while her moaning fills the cave: so in her raving mouth Apollo shakes the reins, and plies the goad beneath her breast;' cp. ll. 77–80 above.

105. praecepi, 'I have forecast them all.'

107. refuso, 'poured out' or 'over,' it being the overflow of Acheron that caused the marsh: 'the dark pool from Acheron's flood.'

112. maria omnia, connected by a slight zeugma with **ferebat.**

116. dabat, 'used to give,' referring apparently to directions given while Anchises was alive, and not to his appearance in v. 731, where he begs Aeneas to come and see him in Hades.

118. Hecate, i. e. Trivia, she being so called because she was worshipped in places where three ways met. See l. 35 above. Hecate and Diana were identified.

121–123. Castor was mortal, Pollux immortal; and Castor was allowed to share his brother's immortality, each dying at alternate periods. Theseus descended to Hades to help his friend Pirithous to carry off Proserpine. One of the labours of Hercules was to bring the dog Cerberus from Hades. **et mi** . . . 'I too (like them) am sprung from Jove on high'—and therefore can claim a like privilege.

126. Averno, dat. of recipient instead of prep. and case, like *it caelo clamor* xi. 192. The MSS. vary between **Averno** and *Averni*, but the former, as being more difficult, is more likely to have been the original reading.

129–131. pauci, etc., 'some few beloved of kindly Heaven, or raised by their shining worth to the skies—some few, Heaven-born, have won their way.' **aequus**, here 'gracious' rather than 'just.' **media**, 'between' (us and the underworld).

138, 139. Proserpine is **Iuno inferna**, as Pluto is *Iupiter Stygius* iv. 638; cp. Ζεὺς χθόνιος. **dictus sacer**, 'held sacred,' *dictus* having almost the force of *dicatus*, *addictus;* cp. Hor. Sat. ii. 2. 133 *Nunc ager Umbreni sub nomine, nuper Ofelli Dictus erat.* **convallibus**, abl. instr., 'darkness shuts it in with gloomy vales'—i. e. dark vales enclose it.

141. quis, indefinite pronoun, as l. 568 *quae quis apud superos . . . distulit*, Hor. Sat. i. 3. 63 *simplicior quis et est*, Tac. Hist. iii. 58 *quanto quis clarior;* usually only with *si* or *nisi*. *Non ante datur, quam quis = non datur, nisi quis*—''tis not allowed to pass beneath the hidden realms of

earth, till one hath plucked from the tree its golden growth.' Most editors prefer the v. l. *qui*, the construction then being *non ante datur quam* (=*ei*) *qui decerpserit:* but this is rather more cumbrous, and *qui* is only given in one first-rate MS. (Med.)

142, 143. suum munus, 'as her own proper gift;' cp. v. 54 *strueremque suis altaria donis.*

145–147. alte, 'deep' (in the wood), the branch being concealed in the thick foliage. **rite,** probably with **repertum,** 'when duly found;' though it might be intended to qualify **carpe.**

150. funere, 'the presence of death,' as ii. 539 *patrios foedasti funere vultus.*

152. 'Restore him to his own place, and lay him in the tomb.' The last half of the line explains the first.

156. maesto, etc., 'with rooted eyes sad faced' (Kenn.). **lumina,** for the constr. see on iv. 137.

159. paribus . . . figit, 'walks full of equal care.' Forb. is very likely right in supposing that **figit** gives the idea of slow walking, the foot being pressed upon the ground each time. So Con. in his verse translation ('as thoughtful and as slow').

160. multa . . . serebant, lit. 'much talk they wove together,' the idea being that of *connected* conversation; so *sermonem serere* Plaut. Curc. i. 3. 37.

162. atque introduces a temporal relation; 'much talk were they exchanging, who the friend she told of dead, what corpse untombed, when lo! . . .' Cp. Ecl. vii. 7 *ipse caper deerraverat, atque ego Daphnin Aspicio:* and see above on v. 858. The usage points to an earlier stage of language, in which comparison and relation were expressed by simple juxtaposition of sentences, before the development of more elaborate grammatical structure and subordination of clauses.

165. ciere, infin. after **praestantior,** a Greek construction common in the Augustan poets: cp. Ecl. v. 1 *boni inflare,* x. 32 *cantare periti.*

166, 167. circum, 'in company with,' like Greek ἀμφί, περί. **obibat,** 'engaged in fight;' cp. Lucr. iv. 968 *pugnare et proelia obire,* Liv. iv. 7. 2 *obire tot simul bella.*

170. non inferiora, 'no meaner standard,' for *non inferiorem,* a Graecism, =τὰ ἥττω for τὸν ἥττονα. He means that Aeneas was as great a hero as Hector.

173, 174. exceptum immerserat, 'seized and plunged him.'

177, 178. aram sepulcri, 'an altar-like funeral pile,' 'the altar of his pyre:' cp. the expressions *labor domus, decus aevi,* etc. *Sepulcro* (dat.) is given by some MSS.: but the testimony of Servius and the imitation of Silius Ital. (xv. 387 *alta sepulcri Protenus exstruitur caeloque educitur ara*) confirm the reading *sepulcri.* **caelo,** poetical dat. of recipient instead of prep. and case. See on l. 126 above.

179. **stabula alta**, 'the lofty home of wild beasts,' referring to the height of the trees. The phrase is used in ix. 388 of the stalls of Latinus, which shows that the sense here must be 'lofty,' and not 'deep' (hidden in the wood), as has also been suggested.

182. **montibus**, 'from the mountains.'

186. **forte** emphasizes the unexpected character of the result. Aeneas chances to utter his request at exactly the right moment. Con. and others read *voce*: but *forte* has the support of most of the MSS., and makes perfectly good sense.

187. **si**, 'O that.' **arbore**, local abl.

190. **forte** here denotes coincidence. 'Scarce had he spoke when, lo! before his very eyes there came two doves from heaven.'

193. **maternas**, doves being sacred to Venus.

196, 197. **rebus**, dative, 'fail not the crisis of my fortunes.' **pressit**, 'checked,' as *repressit* ii. 78.

199, 200. 'They moved on, feeding as they flew, and just within the range of their pursuers' eyes'—lit. 'only just so far as the eyes of their pursuers might keep them in view with their gaze.' For **acies** cp. Lucr. i. 325 *Nulla potest oculorum acies contenta tueri*, and l. 789 below. **possent** denotes the *object* of the doves, depending on virtual oratio obliqua in **prodire** = *prodire voluerunt*.

203. **gemina**, the reading of most MSS., must = 'of twofold growth,' like Greek διφυής: cp. Ov. Met. ii. 630 *geminique tulit Chironis in antrum*, Stat. iii. 2. 35 *geminoque huic corpore Triton Praenatat*. The description which follows (ll. 204–209) justifies the emphasis thus given to this idea by a somewhat peculiar word. The v. l. *geminae* (adopted by Con.), i.e. 'the two doves,' has little force, and may easily have arisen from *geminae* l. 190. MS. authority is here supported by the principle *potior lectio difficillima*. **optatis**, 'wished for (by Aeneas).'

204. 'Whence flashed in contrast through the boughs the sheen of gold.' **discolor**, of 'different colour' from the tree. **aura**, lit. 'a breeze,' is used metaphorically of anything which exhales or is given off from a substance. Here it denotes a gleam of light. In Prop. ii. 27. 15 (*si modo clamantis revocaverit aura puellae*) it = a sound: in Georg. iv. 417 (*dulcis compositis spiravit crinibus aura*) it = an odour.

205–209. 'As in some wood the mistletoe, 'mid winter's cold, blooms with fresh foliage on an alien tree, and wreathes the smooth round trunks with its yellow growth; thus showed the leafy gold amid dark ilex boughs, while its thin foil tinkled in the gentle breeze.' **non sua**, i.e. the mistletoe grows on a tree which is not really its parent.

209. **brattea**, 'thin foil,' classed by Lucr. iv. 727 with cobweb for its fineness. Lachmann, *ad loc.*, urges, and Munro adopts, the spelling **brattea**; condemning *bractea* (like *arctus*, *mulcta*, *auctumnus*, etc.) as a *barbara consuetudo* of late growth. The MSS. here confirm this.

213. The rhythm expresses sorrow and heaviness. **ingrato**, 'thankless,' i. e. without feeling.

214. 'First they built a huge pyre of unctuous pine and oaken planks.' **pinguem**, because the **taedae** were splinters of pine wood full of pitch; cp. Lucr. v. 297 *pingues multa caligine taedae*. The pyre is not, strictly speaking, **pinguis robore secto**: but **taedis et robore secto** evidently go together, as the material to feed the flame: so Dido's pyre, iv. 505 *ingenti taedis atque ilice secta*. Con. follows Henry in taking **robore secto** with **ingentem**; but iv. 505 tells as much against as for this.

215–217. Virgil (describing no doubt the ceremonies of a Roman funeral) seems to imply that the sides of the pyre were covered with dark boughs (perhaps of cypress), and that cypress trees or boughs were also placed in front of it (**ante** in local sense); cp. Ov. Trist. iii. 13. 21 *Funeris ara mihi ferali cincta cupresso Convenit*. The cypress (like hearse-plumes, etc.) was a 'luxury of woe;' so Lucan. iii. 442 *Et non plebeios luctus testata cupressus*.

220, 221. **defleta**, 'wept over,' with the idea of weeping to the full. **velamina nota**, they had been his own in life.

223, 224. **ministerium**, cp. ix. 52 *iaculum attorquens emittit in auras, Principium pugnae*; x. 311 *turmas invasit agrestes Aeneas, omen pugnae*. The construction is more common in Greek than Latin.

225. Another custom at Roman funerals; things supposed to be agreeable to the deceased being thrown into the flames; Tac. Ann. iii. 2 *pro opibus loci vestem odores aliaque funerum sollemnia cremabant*, Stat. Theb. vi. 126 *Portant inferias arsuraque fercula* (dishes of food). **fuso olivo**, descriptive abl., 'cups of oil outpoured.'

228. **cado**, the funeral urn, of various materials. Those in the British Museum are mostly of marble, alabaster, or baked clay: but bronze urns are found in Etruscan tombs.

229–231. The final ceremony at a Roman funeral, **Corynaeus** performing the part of priest, as just before that of nearest relation. **circumtulit**, from being employed in such phrases as *circumferre hostias populum*, *circumferre undam*, etc., acquired the meaning 'to purify,' and was used with accusative of that which is purified: cp. the construction of *circumdare* (*murum urbi* or *urbem muro*). **novissima verba**, the 'vale' with which they took leave of the dead; see iii. 68 *magna supremum voce ciemus*.

233. **suaque arma**, in apposition to **remumque tubamque**, 'the hero's gear, his oar and trumpet.' His 'armour' is already burnt (l. 217).

235. The **mons aërius** still bears the name *Punta di Miseno*.

237, 238. 'A cavern deep there was, with huge yawning mouth, rugged and sheltered by a black pool and darksome groves.'

242. Omitted by a majority of the best MSS.; unnoticed by Servius, or

by Nonius s. v. *Avernus*. Probably it is an interpolation. Dionysius (Periegesis 1151) has a line τοὔνεκά μιν καὶ φῶτες ἐπικλείουσιν Ἄορνιν, translated by Priscian, Perieg. 1056 *Unde locis Graii posuerunt nomen Aornin*; which increases the suspicion of a gloss here. There is a further question whether *Avernum* or **Aornon** (Ἄορνον) should be read, the MSS. which give the line varying between the two. The latter seems more probable, as showing the etymology—though Lucr. vi. 742 seems to derive *Averna* from *avis* on the '*lucus a non lucendo*' principle, *quia sunt avibus contraria cunctis*.

243. terga, acc. of the part, like *os humerosque deo similis* i. 589.

245. summas saetas, the topmost hairs were plucked off first, and thrown into the fire as a first-fruit (ἀπαρχαί, **libamina prima**); and the process in Greek was called ἀπάρχεσθαι (Hom. Od. iii. 446).

247, 248. caelo, local ablative. **supponunt**, 'place the knife beneath' their throats.

250. matri Eumenidum, Nox; ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἐσμὲν Νυκτὸς αἰανῆς τέκνα Aesch. Eum. 416. **sorori**, i. e. Tellus.

252. incohat, 'begins to rear.'

253. solida viscera, 'whole carcases.' **viscera** according to Servius denotes the whole carcass under the skin. For **solidus** = 'unbroken,' cp. Hor. Od. i. 1. 20 *nec partem solido demere de die*.

254. supēr, the short syllable is lengthened in arsi, a licence not uncommon in Virgil. See on iv. 64, and Introd. p. 17. The best MSS. read *superque*: but the *que* makes no sense, and has probably been inserted to correct the metre.

258. dea, Hecate. **procul**, etc., 'avaunt, avaunt, ye unhallowed!' Cp. ἑκὰς ἑκάς, ὅστις ἀλιτρός Callim. Hymn. Apoll. 2. The uninitiated was warned off at the commencement of the mysteries. Here the words are directed to Aeneas' companions, who were not going to make the journey to Hades.

262. 'This said, she plunged in frenzy into the cavern's mouth'—the presence of Hecate having brought back the 'afflatus.'

263. aequat, 'keeps pace with:' cp. iii. 671 *fluctus aequare sequendo*.

266. sit numine vestro, 'be it mine by your consent;' cp. i. 133 *meo sine numine*.

268–272. 'Darkling they went 'neath lonesome night throughout the gloom, through the void homes of Dis and bodiless realms, like travellers in a forest 'neath the fitful moonbeams' scanty light, when Jupiter has shrouded heaven in gloom, and Nature's every hue is quenched in the darkness of night.' **vacuas, inania**, as tenanted only by shades; so *domus exilis Plutonia* Hor. Od. i. 4. 17. **incertam**, so *incertos soles* iii. 203. **maligna**, 'niggardly' as Georg. ii. 179 (of hilly soil). The picture is that of 'the struggling moonbeams' misty light' ('Burial of Sir John Moore').

273 sqq. This fine personification of human ills, sitting like spectres at the gate of Orcus, may have been suggested by Lucr. iii. 65–67 *Turpis enim ferme contemptus et acris egestas Semota ab dulci vita stabilique videntur, Et quasi iam leti portas cunctarier ante.* It is imitated in the picture of 'forgotten Sion' at the opening of Heber's 'Palestine:'

'But lawless Force and meagre Want is there,
And the quick-darting eye of restless Fear;
While cold Oblivion, 'mid thy ruins laid,
Folds his dank wing beneath the ivy shade.'

275–281. 'And pale Diseases dwell, and dull Old Age, and Fear and Hunger that prompts to wrong, and unsightly Want, shapes terrible to view—and Death and Suffering, and with them Death's twin brother, Sleep, and all evil joys: deadly War stands facing at the door; there too are the Furies' iron cells and raving Discord, her snaky locks entwined with blood-stained wreaths.' **consanguineus Leti**, from Hom. Il. xiv. 231 *Ἔνθ' Ὕπνῳ ξύμβλητο, κασιγνήτῳ Θανάτοιο.* Sleep, from its resemblance to death, is regarded as something of an awful and mysterious character; hence its place among these various forms of human ill. **crinem**, for the constr., see on iv. 137.

282–284. annosa, 'many-wintered.' **vulgo** = *passim* (as iii. 643 *habitant ad litora vulgo*), and is explained by **foliis sub omnibus.** Note the change of construction in **haerent**, to which **somnia** is nominative.

286–289. Scyllae, rhetorical plural, as Milton's 'Gorgons and Hydras and Chimaeras dire.' **centumgeminus**, 'with the hundred hands:' so l. 800 *septemgeminus*, 'with seven mouths' (of the Nile); iv. 510 *tergeminus*, 'with three bodies' (of Geryon). In these compounds *geminus* denotes repetition, so that their literal meaning is 'hundred-fold,' 'seven-fold,' 'three-fold.' **belua Lernae**, the Hydra. **forma tricorporis umbrae**, i. e. Geryon.

290 ff. 'Alarmed, Aeneas grasps his brand
And points it at the advancing band;
And were no Sibyl there
To warn him that the goblin swarm
Are empty shades of hollow form,
He would be rushing on the foe
And cleaving with an idle blow
The unsubstantial air' (Conington).

293. admoneat, notice the use of the present, instead of the ordinary imperf. subj., for greater vividness.

295. hinc, 'next'—i. e. 'after passing the gate of Orcus.' Homer (Od. x. 513) names four rivers (Acheron, Pyriphlegethon, Cocytus, and Styx), but says nothing about them when conducting Odysseus to Hades. Plato (Phaedo 112, 113) gives a fuller description of four rivers (Ocean, Acheron,

Pyriphlegethon, and Styx or Cocytus). Virgil seems here to conceive *one* river, to which he applies the names Acheron, Cocytus, and Styx: but in l. 550 we find a separate conception of Phlegethon surrounding Tartarus.

297. **Cocyto**, dative after verb implying motion; see on l. 126 above. Acheron seems to empty itself into Cocytus, which in l. 323 is identical with Styx.

298. **portitor**, a collector of *portoria* or 'harbour tolls;' then one who takes toll for carrying passengers, a 'ferryman.' **servat**, 'haunts.'

300. **stant.** 'His eyes one mass of flame;' cp. xii. 407 *iam pulvere caelum Stare vident*, Hor. Od. i. 9.1 *Vides ut alta stet nive candidum Soracte.* The idea in each passage is that of 'fixity' and 'mass.'

302–304. 'Unaided he pushes on his boat and tends the sails, and ferries all the dead in his dusky bark, old though he be—but a god has fresh and green old age.' **ministrat**, here and x. 218 (*clavumque regit velisque ministrat*) seems neuter, 'acts as "minister" to or for the sails' (dative).

306–308. These lines are repeated from G. iv. 475–477. **magnanimum**, an example of the old form *-um* in gen. plur. of adjective stems in *-o*. The form is common with substantives in Virgil, e. g. *deum, virum, divom.*

313–316. 'There stood they each praying to launch first across, with hands outstretched in yearning for the farther shore: but the grim ferryman takes now this one and now that—others he keeps far off, and drives them from the river's brink.' **transmittere**, poetic use of infin. instead of *ut* and subj.

317. **enim** is probably used here as a strengthening participle; cp. x. 874 *Aeneas agnovit enim laetusque precatur.* This seems better than to give **enim** its ordinary sense, and take **miratus** as a principal verb.

320. **livida**, 'the dull dark waters:' cp. vii. 687 *liventes plumbi*, Hor. Od. ii. 5. 10 *lividos racemos.*

322–324. 'O son of Anchises, proved offspring of heaven, 'tis Cocytus' deep pool you see and the Stygian mere—that stream by whose majesty no god will falsely swear!' Hom. Od. v. 185 *Καὶ τὸ κατειβόμενον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ, ὅς τε μέγιστος Ὅρκος δεινότατός τε πέλει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσι.* **iurare et fallere**, hendiadys.

325. For the belief that the unburied were not received into the lower world cp. Iliad xxiii. 71 (Patroclus' shade to Achilles) *Θάπτε με ὅττι τάχιστα, πύλας Ἀΐδαο περήσω κ.τ.λ.*

327, 328. **datur**, sc. *Charonti.* **transportare**, as Caes. B. G. iv. 16 *exercitum modo Rhenum transportaret* ('throw his army across the Rhine').

331. **pressit**; see on l. 197 above.

332. **animo.** One of the best MSS. reads *animi* ('in mind,' probably an old locative), which Con. adopts, on the ground that the phrase *animi*

miserata occurs in x. 686. But this seems hardly sufficient ground for going against the authority of the MSS. in the present passage.

335. vectos, past participle, 'after all their voyage with him (Aen.) over the wind-swept seas.'

337. sese agebat, a poetical equivalent for *ibat:* cp. viii. 465 *Aeneas se matutinus agebat.*

338. Libyco. Palinurus was drowned on the way from Sicily to Italy; but they had originally started from Africa: see however Introd. to Book V. **dum servat**, 'while watching.'

344. delusit Apollo. This is hardly consistent with the narrative in Book V. The only prediction which refers to the subject is that made by Neptune to Venus, and there the loss of one of the crew is expressly mentioned (v. 812 ff.). See Introd. to Book V.

345. ponto, local abl. 'on the sea.'

351. praecipitans, intr. as ii. 9—'in headlong fall.'

353. armis, any part of a ship's equipment; here of the rudder or large oar used for steering—'Her steerage gone, her helmsman overboard.' **excussa magistro**, a variation for the ordinary *excusso magistro.* The ship is regarded as having been separated from its pilot instead of vice versa.

354. tantis undis. There is no mention of a storm at the end of Book V: see Introd. to that Book.

356. violentus aqua, to be taken together, 'raging over the sea,' lit. 'stormy with waters.'

358–361. tenebam . . . ni invasisset, instead of the proper apodosis, stating what *would have happened*, the imperf. ind. is employed, implying that the event *had actually begun to happen.* Cp. Cic. Leg. i. 19 *labebar longius, nisi me retinuissem;* Liv. ii. 50 *vincebat auxilio loci, ni Veiens in verticem collis evasisset.* **cum veste**, of attendant circumstance—'weighed down as I was in my wet garments.' **capita montis**, the *top* of the *cliff*, up which he had climbed, and thus **iam tuta tenebam**, was clinging to the top, but not yet safe over it.

363, 364. 'O by the genial light and air of heaven, by your father, by your hopes in young Iulus!' **quod**, here a particle of transition; originally accusative of reference = 'as to which:' cp. ii. 141 *quod te per superos*, etc.

366. iniice; compare the petition of the unburied corpse in Hor. Od. i. 28. 35 *licebit Iniecto ter pulvere curras.* **Velinos**, an anachronism: *Velia* (or Elea, Greek Ὑέλη) was founded about 540 B.C. by the exiles from Phocaea in Ionia, Hdt. i. 167.

371. 'That at least I may find in death some quiet resting-place;' i. e. if I cannot have a tomb, at any rate I may obtain repose.

373. dira, 'wild desire.'

379. prodigiis, i. e. probably by some pestilence.

380. mittent, 'render' solemn offerings, as iv. 624 *cinerique haec mittite nostro Munera.*

381. The promontory is still called *Punta di Palinuro.*

383. terrae, so all MSS. Most editors read *terra,* 'the land that bears his name,' on account of a note in Servius explaining **cognomine** as adjective (from *cognominis,* a rare word, found in Plautus and late prose writers). Servius therefore evidently read *terra.* No doubt it is more likely that a copyist would take **cognomine** as subst. and alter to *terrae,* than that he should alter *terrae* to *terra* in order to make *cognomine* adj.: but can such considerations outweigh the unanimous testimony of MSS.?

384. peragunt, lit. 'go through with,' here = 'continue.'

385–387. iam inde, explained by **Stygia ab unda,** 'from his post by the Stygian wave:' so **iam istinc** (l. 389), 'from where you stand.' **ultro,** of anything beyond what is necessary or expected: so ii. 279 *ultro compellare,* 'to address *first:*' here **increpat ultro** = 'unaccosted upbraids them.'

394. essent refers to Charon's thought—'though I knew them to be of heavenly race.'

395. custodem, i.e. Cerberus.

397. dominam, 'the queen.' **Ditis** goes with **thalamo.**

398. Amphrysia = *Apollinea,* because Apollo once fed the flocks of Admetus by the Thessalian river Amphrysus.

402. casta, predicate. 'Let Proserpine stay chaste within her uncle's home.' **limen servare,** as Con. remarks, expresses the ancient ideal of a good wife—*domi mansit, lanam fecit.* Cp. Prop. ii. 6. 23, 24 *Felix Admeti coniunx et lectus Ulixis, Et quaecunque viri femina limen amat.*

405. nulla movet, 'in no way moves:' so iv. 272 *nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum.*

407. ex ira, i.e. from storm to calm.

408. nec plura his, lit. 'no more is said than this.' Con. takes *his* as dat., and supplies *regerit Charon,* 'Charon makes no further reply to them.' But in that case the **ille** which follows would have no force.

411, 412. alias, i.e. other than Aeneas. This idiom in Greek and Latin, including among a number of persons or things the one who is distinguished from them, is often untranslateable except by an adverb ('besides' etc.): e.g. Od. vi. 84 *ἅμα τῇ γε* (Nausicaa) *καὶ ἀμφίπολοι κίον ἄλλαι* ('with her came attendants *also*'); Lucr. i. 116 *pecudes alias* ('brutes in our stead'). Munro cites from Empedocles *ἄνθρωποί τε καὶ ἄλλων ἔθνεα θηρῶν,* Liv. v. 39. 4 *circa moenia aliasque portas.* **iuga,** Greek *ζυγά,* the rowers' benches—*ἅπαξ λεγόμενον* in Latin. **laxat foros,** 'clears the gangways.'

414. sutilis, 'patched' or 'seamy:' the boat appears to have been a light one made of skins sown together.

415. incolumes is better supported by the MSS. than *incolumis.*

As nom. sing. agreeing with **cymba** the word would have little point, and the orthography which makes its construction clear is preferable.

419, 420. colubris. Cerberus, like the Furies, has snakes for hair. **offam**, etc., 'a morsel made stupefying with honey and drugged meal.'

424, 425. sepulto, i. e. in sleep, cp. ii. 265 *urbem somno vinoque sepultam*. For **evadit ripam** see on v. 438.

426–547. They first enter the neutral region, occupied by those who have met an untimely death, viz. infants, suicides (self-destruction involving no condemnation to a Roman), persons condemned unjustly, victims of unrequited love, and warriors who fell in battle. 'There are traces of a notion that a full term of life ended by a natural, honourable, or happy death was a necessary condition of a complete admission to the underworld' (Nettleship, 'Suggestions,' p. 44): see iv. 696–699 *nam quia nec fato, merita nec morte peribat . . . Nondum illi flavum Proserpina vertice crinem Abstulerat*, etc.; and Plaut. Most. ii. 2. 67, where a ghost says, *Nam me Acheruntem recipere Orcus noluit Quia praemature vita careo.*

426–429. Virgil makes the souls of infants wail for the life they have never enjoyed: Lucretius (v. 228) thinks it natural for a child to cry *cui tantum in vita restet transire malorum* (see Munro, *ad loc.*)—a view more in harmony with the feeling 'whom the gods love die young,' as expressed in the story of Cleobis and Biton (Hdt. i. 31), or the Christian spirit of thankfulness for deliverance 'out of the miseries of this sinful world.' **in limine primo**, sc. *Orci*. **acerbo**, 'untimely,' lit. 'bitter,' 'unripe;' *θάνατος ἄωρος* Eur. Or. 1030: so *acerbae res et impolitae* ('immature') Cic. Prov. Coss. 14; *virgo acerba*, 'unmarriageable.'

430. 'Near them the souls condemned to death upon a false charge,' **mortis** being the ordinary gen. of the penalty. This seems better than to take **crimine mortis** together as = 'a capital charge.'

431–433. These lines are parenthetical, with reference not merely to the neutral region, but to the lower world in general. Virgil—thinking, perhaps, that the juxtaposition of infants and of the unjustly condemned may seem strange—breaks off his description to assert emphatically that the various regions below (**hae sedes**) are assigned after proper inquiry by Minos, one of the three traditional judges of the underworld. Of the others, Rhadamanthus is found presiding over Tartarus (l. 566); Aeacus is not mentioned. The phraseology is that of Roman law; **sorte** recalling the *sortitio iudicum*, or selection of jurymen by lot, while **quaesitor** was the presiding magistrate at a Roman trial. Whether **concilium silentum** denotes a body of *iudices* selected from the shades themselves, or an assemblage of those who are to be tried, is not clear. The details of the description are purposely vague, and do not admit of exact definition. 'Minos presides, and shakes the urn; 'tis he that calls a court of the silent shades and learns the life and sins of each.'

435. insontes, they had done nothing worthy of death.

436. aethere in alto, 'the upper air'—i. e. earth, as opposed to the underworld. For the thought compare the speech of Achilles' shade, Hom. Od. xi. 489–491 *βουλοίμην κ' ἐπάρουρος ἐὼν θητευέμεν ἄλλῳ | ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἀκλήρῳ, ᾧ μὴ βίοτος πολὺς εἴη, | ἢ πᾶσιν νεκύεσσι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσειν.*

438. Cp. Georg. iv. 479 *tardaque palus inamabilis unda.* There is another reading, *tristisque . . . undae*: but the parallel passage in the Georgics, and the authority of Servius, are in favour of **tristi . . . unda.**

445–449. Homer describes the heroines in the lower world at some length (Od. xi. 225–329). Virgil introduces them very briefly for the sake of confronting Aeneas with the shade of Dido; and places them all in the *lugentes campi*, though only some can be said to have died for love. **Phaedra** perished through her guilty passion for Hippolytus her step-son; **Procris** was accidentally shot by her husband while jealously watching him; **Eriphyle** betrayed her husband Amphiaraus for a golden necklace, and was slain by her son Alcmaeon; **Evadne** perished for love on her husband's funeral pile; **Pasiphae** was an example of unnatural passion; **Laodamia** killed herself for love of her dead husband; **Caenis**, at her own request, was changed by Neptune to a youth and known as **Caeneus.**

450. recens, 'fresh from her wound;' cp. Cic. Verr. ii. 2 *cum e provincia recens esset.*

453, 454. 'As one that sees, or thinks he sees, the young moon rising through the clouds.' **primo mense**, like Gk. *ἀρχομένου μηνός*, the early period of the natural month. Virgil imitates Apoll. Rh. iv. 1479 *ὥς τίς τε νέῳ ἐνὶ ἤματι μήνην Ἢ ἴδεν, ἢ ἐδόκησεν ἐπαχλύουσαν ἰδέσθαι.*

456, 457. nuntius, i. e. the blaze of Dido's pyre, from which he had guessed her fate (v. 3 sqq.). **extrema secutam**, 'had sought your end;' cp. i. 119 *sive extrema pati.*

458. funeris, emphatic, 'was it death that I brought you.'

459. per si qua fides, etc., 'by all that is most sacred here underground' (Con.). **fides** = Homer's *ὅρκος*, a thing to swear by, and such as will ensure belief.

462. senta situ, lit. 'rough with neglect'—'these waste and mouldering realms,' Homer's *Ἀΐδεω δόμον εὐρώεντα* (Od. x. 512). The only place where **sentus** occurs before Virgil is Ter. Eun. ii. 2. 5 (of a ragged, *seedy* man) *Video sentum, squalidum, aegrum, pannis annisque obsitum.*

466. 'Whom would you shun? Fate suffers us to meet no more'—because his place after death will not be the same as hers. **fato**, instrum. abl.

467, 468. torva tuentem animum, a bold expression, justified by the fact that the inward feeling is revealed by the expression of the eyes; 'her burning heart and sullen frown.' **torva**, adverbial use of neuter adj., like *acerba tuens* ix. 794, *falsum renidens vultu* Tac. Ann. iv. 60.

470. **vultum**, acc. of the part.

471. **stet**, stronger than *sit*, 'than if she were a mass of rugged flint, etc., see on l. 300. **Marpesia**, 'marble:' Marpessa being a mountain in Paros.

474. 'Answers to her cares and gives her love for love.' For the double dat. (**illi**, **curis**) cp. xi. 179 *meritis vacat hic tibi solus Fortunaeque locus.*

477, 478. **datum**, sc. *fato*, 'appointed.' **molitur** expresses *effort* and *difficulty*: so *fulmina molitur* Georg. i. 329, *in vites molire bipennem* ibid. iv. 331. **ultima**, i.e. the last part of the neutral region; see on l. 446 above.

479, 480. **Tydeus** and **Parthenopaeus** were two of the seven chiefs who fought and fell at Thebes. **Adrastus**, father-in-law of Tydeus and Polynices, saw them die, and turned so pale that he never recovered his complexion.

481. **ad superos** = *apud superos* l. 568, 'among men on earth,' who are *superi* in regard to the shades below: so *superas auras* l. 128, *superum ad lumen* l. 680. Cp. also Vell. Pat. ii. 48 (of Pompey) *Quam apud superos habuit magnitudinem, illibatam detulisset ad inferos*; and the phrase found on inscriptions *ad superos esse* = *vivere.* **caduci**, 'fallen,' lit. 'liable to fall.'

483, 484. From Hom. Il. xvii. 216, and xi. 59, where Antenor's sons are named. **Polyphoeten** agrees with Πολυφοίτην Il. xiii. 791 (where a v.l. Πολυφήτην might justify *Polypheten* in some late codices). Many MSS. give *Polyboeten.*

485. **etiam**, 'still,' 'even now,' its original sense; cp. Georg. iii. 189 *invalidus etiamque tremens, etiam inscius aevi.*

491–493. Some of the shades of Greeks fly at the sight of Aeneas: others threaten, and try to raise the war cry (*βοή*), but produce no more sound than the shrill squeak (*τρίζειν*) of ghosts. With the whole passage cp. Homer's description of the dead *παντόσ' ἀτυζομένων* (Od. xi. 606) before the shade of Heracles. **inceptus**, etc. 'the shout they try to raise mocks their straining throats,' i.e. will not be uttered.

495. The MSS. mostly read *videt lacerum*, other readings being *vidit et* and *vidit*. Probably **videt et** is right: and the history of the corruption is that in copying VIDETET the letters ET were only written once, and then (to correct the scansion) *videt* became *vidit.*

495–497. Similar mutilations are described Od. xviii. 86, xxii. 475, as mere acts of barbarous vengeance; but there seems also to have been a superstition that, by cutting off the hands of his victim, a murderer could escape vengeance—see Lid. and Scott, s. vv. *ἀκρωτηριάζω*, *μασχαλίζω.* The shade wears the bodily appearance of the person in life or at the time of his death; cp. Plato, Gorgias 524 C *οἷον εἴ τινος μέγα ἦν τὸ σῶμα φύσει ἢ τροφῇ ἢ ἀμφότερα ζῶντος, τούτου καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἀποθανῇ ὁ νεκρὸς μέγας, κ.τ.λ.* **ora, manus, tempora, nares**, accusatives of the part., or of reference: cp. l. 243 above.

498. vix adeo, 'scarce, yea, scarce;' *adeo* here, as elsewhere, gives emphasis to the word which it follows: cp. Ecl. iv. 11 *teque adeo . . . consule*, Aen. iii. 203 *tres adeo incertos . . . soles*.

499. ultro, 'unaccosted,' see on l. 387 above.

500. genus, in apposition to the vocative, as in v. 45.

503. Pelasgum, see on v. 174.

505. tumulum inanem, 'a cenotaph.'

507, 508. servant, 'preserve the memory of the place.' **tĕ, amice**, this kind of hiatus, in which a long monosyllable is shortened in thesi, occurs occasionally in Virgil; e. g. Ecl. ii. 85 *Corydon ŏ Alexi*, viii. 108 *an quĭ amant*. See Introd. p. 18. **patria terra** with **ponere**, 'lay you in Trojan soil.'

509. tibi, dat. of agent.

510. funeris umbris, my body's shade, cp. ix. 491 *funus lacerum*.

511. Lacaenae, Helen.

515 sqq. In ii. 567 sqq. Helen is represented as crouching in terror and hiding alike from Greeks and Trojans: Deiphobus here describes her as triumphantly welcoming the Greeks, and treacherously betraying him to Menelaus. Each description suits the poetical purpose of its context: and the poet, we must suppose, was not careful to harmonise them. **evantes orgia** (cogn. accus.), 'shouting their wild Bacchic cry.' **circum** with **ducebat**.

520–522. 'At that hour, worn with care and heavy with sleep, I lay in our ill-fated chamber, all sunk in a sweet deep rest, like the stillness of death.' Ribbeck accepts Schrader's conjecture *choreis*, objecting to **curis** as inconsistent (1) with *gaudia* l. 513, (2) with the description of untroubled sleep in l. 522. But any Trojan chief might well be *confectus curis* at that time; and l. 522 is but a poetical expression for the deep, heavy sleep of a tired man.

523. egregia, ironical.

529. Aeolides, according to the post-Homeric slander the real father of Ulysses was Sisyphus the son of Aeolus, and not Laertes.

530. instaurate, 'repay,' lit. 'renew,' an easy extension of meaning.

532. pelagine, etc., i. e. 'has the course of your travels brought you here, or were you sent specially by the gods?'

533, 534. 'By what stress of fortune driven to approach our dreary sunless home, this realm of gloom?' **fatigat**, historic present, followed, as often, by a secondary tense, **adires**.

535. hac vice sermonum, abl. of circumstance, 'amid such interchange of talk.'

539. ruit, 'is coming on.' They had started *primi sub lumina solis* l. 255, having spent the previous night in the preliminary sacrifices: they have now been exploring till past noon, and the Sibyl warns Aeneas that time is getting on. The journey to and through Orcus is supposed to occupy about twenty-four hours—a day and a night.

541. **dextera**, etc., the construction is an anacoluthon, **hac iter** being substituted for some such word as *ducit.* This seems on the whole better than to take **dextera** as belonging to the relative clause.

542. **Elysium**, accus. of motion towards: cp. l. 696 *haec limina tendere adegit.*

543. **exercet**, the road, by a boldness of expression, is said to 'ply the punishment of the wicked,' as it sends them to their punishment. **impia**, as being the abode of the wicked: cp. *lugentes campi*, l. 441 above.

545. **explebo numerum**, 'I will fill up the number of the shades'—i. e. rejoin them. The expression is obscure, and this is perhaps the best interpretation. Other explanations are (1) 'I will fill up my allotted time (*numerum annorum*) in the world below'—adopted, though hesitatingly, by Con.; (2) 'I will fill up my place' (or function).

547. **in verbo**, 'while speaking,' like iv. 76 *mediaque in voce resistit.*

549. 'A wide stronghold girt by a triple wall;' for the distinction between **murus** (the wall) and **moenia** (the buildings inside) cp. ii. 234 *dividimus muros et moenia pandimus urbis.*

552. 'In front is a vast gate, with columns of solid adamant.'

554. **stat turris ad auras**, a pregnant construction, 'stands and reaches to the sky.'

559. **strepitum . . . hausit**, 'drank in the din.' The MSS. are slightly in favour of this reading; though some give *strepitu . . . haesit*, 'stood fixed, scared by the din,' and others confuse the two readings together.

561. **ad auras**, so most MSS. But the v. l. *ad aures* is very plausible, and *ad auras* might easily have come from l. 554.

565. **deum poenas**, 'sanctioned by the gods.'

566, 567. **Rhadamanthus**, brother of Minos (whence **Gnosius** = Cretan), in Homer (Od. iv. 564) presides over the Elysian fields; in Plato (Gorg. 524 A) he judges the Asiatic dead (Aeacus judging Europeans, and Minos being a judge of final appeal). Here he is not so much a judge as a chief gaoler or *Triumvir Capitalis.* **castigatque auditque**, a ὕστερον πρότερον, perhaps implying the summary nature of his jurisdiction (Con.)—punishment being almost coincident with the recital of crime.

568, 569. 'The crimes that each guilty soul among men, rejoicing in the idle fraud, has veiled until the last hour of death.' **distulit**, lit. 'has put off'—i.e. the confession of and satisfaction for crime, understood though not expressed in **piacula**, which = simply 'crimes,' as Liv. v. 52. 6 *quantum piaculi committatur*, Plaut. Trin. ii. 1. 13 *piaculum est misereri hominum male rem gerentium.*

570. **accincta**, 'armed,' as ix. 74 *facibus pubes accingitur atris.*

571. **quatit**, 'drives' with blows. **insultans**, 'taunting,' 'upbraiding.'

573. 'Then, not till then, with hideous sound on grating hinge roll back the gates of doom.' The words, as Con. shows, are still the Sibyl's: she

shows Aeneas the sentry at the gate, but describes for him (ll. 576–627) the horrors within.

577–579. **saevior**, 'more savage still' (than Tisiphone). In **bis tantum** Virgil doubles Homer's measure (Τόσσον ἔνερθ' Ἀΐδεω ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης Il. viii. 16); Milton ('Par. Lost,' i. 73) makes the rebel angels

'As far removed from God and light of heaven,
As from the centre thrice to the utmost pole.'

in praeceps, 'downwards.' **caeli suspectus** = 'the view upward to heaven,' **ad aetherium Olympum** being added to emphasise the idea still further.

586. **dum imitatur** expresses the *time*, and so indirectly the *cause*, of the punishment, which began while he was imitating the thunder: cp. Juv. i. 59 *Qui bona donavit praesepibus et caret omni Maiorum censu, dum pervolat axe citato Flaminiam*; Hor. Od. iii. 7. 17 *Narrat paene datum Pelea Tartaro, Magnessam Hippolyten dum fugit abstinens*. The double use of our word 'occasion,' or of *quando*, ἐπεί, etc., is an example of a similar blending of the ideas of cause and simultaneity.

588. **Elidis urbem**, an anachronism, Elis not having been built till long afterwards.

591. **aere**, according to one account he imitated thunder by driving his chariot over a brazen bridge. **simularet**, causal subj. The imperfects throughout the sentence indicate Salmoneus' habit, not a single act.

593, 594. **ille** here points the contrast between Jove and Salmoneus, 'no firebrand his.' **fumea taedis lumina**, 'lights smoky with torches,' a poetical variation for 'the lights of smoky torches.' **turbine**, the 'wind' or 'rush' of the thunderbolt.

595. **omniparentis** occurs twice in Lucret. as an epithet of earth (ii. 706, v. 259), and is a translation of παμμήτωρ (Aesch. P. V. 90). The MSS. are in favour of the v. l. *omnipotentis*, which is also given by Nonius and Arusianus in quotations of the line. But *omnipotentis* would not be a suitable epithet, and might have been easily introduced from a recollection of l. 592 above.

598, 599. **poenis**, dative, 'that grow afresh for punishment.' Others take **poenis** as abl., 'fruitful of torture.' **epulis**, ablat. of circumst. = 'at its food'—'digs and eats, dwelling the while deep in his breast.' Con. however takes **epulis** as dat., = *ad epulas*, 'digs deep for its meal': cp. Tac. Ann. ii. 7 *honori patris decucurrit*.

602–607. The punishments here described, the overhanging cliff and the forbidden banquet, are usually assigned to Tantalus. Madvig gets over the difficulty by reading *Pirithoumque et Quo super* (*quo* being found in one MS.). But the conjecture, though ingenious, is hardly probable. Most likely, as Con. suggests, the **Lapithae**, **Ixion**, and **Pirithous** are mentioned merely as specimens of the large class of hitherto unnamed

criminals; and 'the tortures which follow are chosen, not as those which the persons specified individually suffered, but as belonging to some of the number.' **cadentique**, see on iv. 558. The hypermeter is here most expressive, the extra syllable suggesting the falling stone. **genialibus,** 'festal' (the *Genius* being the impersonation of man's happier self). **toris,** probably local abl., though it might be taken as dat.

610. **incubuere**, 'have brooded over.' **soli**, 'in selfish solitude.'

612, 613. By those 'who have followed a wicked cause,' and 'have not shrunk from breaking faith with their masters,' Virgil seems to imply all violators of duty to country or to masters; with probably a thought of the civil wars of Rome (cp. G. i. 511 *Mars impius*), and particularly the 'Servile War' of B.C. 73–71, or Augustus' war B.C. 36 with Sext. Pompeius, of whom Horace says (Epod. ix. 9) *Minatus Urbi vincla, quae detraxerat Servis amicus perfidis.* **dextras** = *fidem*, the clasping of the right hand being the pledge of fidelity.

615. 'Seek not to learn what penalty (they wait)—what kind of torture or what doom hath whelmed them.' **forma**, sc. *poenae.* **mersit**, the indicative in an indirect question is a difficulty. It has been suggested (1) to take **quae** as a relative, 'the kind which:' but this construction, coming after **quam poenam** (an undoubted interrogative) would be intolerably harsh; (2) to read *merset*, from *mersare*, with two of the MSS. But probably the ordinary text is correct, and the sentence is an indirect question. Examples of the indic. in such cases are not infrequent in Plautus and Terence, e.g. *si nunc memorare velim quam fideli animo et benigno in illam fui, vere possum* Ter. Hec. iii. 5. 21.

616–619. **saxum**, the traditional punishment of Sisyphus, as the wheel was that of Ixion. **districti**, i. e. their legs and arms are stretched out in different directions upon a wheel, which is then rolled round. **Theseus** was fixed in a chair in the lower world for his attempt to carry off Proserpine: **Phlegyas**, king of the Lapithae and father of Ixion, burnt the temple of Apollo at Delphi.

620. Cp. Pind. Pyth. ii. 39, where Ixion from his wheel gives the warning *τὸν εὐεργέταν ἀγαναῖς ἀμοιβαῖς ἐποιχομένους τίνεσθαι.*

621, 622. Servius thinks that **vendidit . . . imposuit** points to Curio, tribune B.C. 50, whom Caesar bribed away from the side of Pompey by paying his debts (cp. Lucan. iv. 819 *Momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum, Gallorum captus spoliis et Caesaris auro*); and **fixit**, etc. to Antony, cp. Cic. Att. xiv. 12. 1 *ecce autem Antonius accepta grandi pecunia fixit legem.* Varius, in a passage from which Macrobius (Sat. iv. 1) says Virgil borrowed (*Vendidit hic Latium populis, agrosque Quiritum Eripuit, fixit leges pretio atque refixit*), probably did mean Antony: but all we can say of Virgil is that while his language is general, Curio or Antony, or both, may have been in his mind. **fixit**, because laws were carved on brass tablets and fastened up in some public place.

624. **auso potiti**, 'gained their venture,' a striking phrase.

629. **munus**, 'the duty undertaken' (of depositing the golden bough).

630, 631. **educta**, 'reared by the forges of Cyclops,' i.e. built of iron. **adverso fornice portas**, 'the arched gate facing us.'

633, 634. **opaca viarum**, 'the dusky roads,' = *opacae viae*, the partitive notion disappearing, as often, cp. i. 422 *strata viarum* = *stratae viae*, Lucret. vi. 1283 *exstructa rogorum* = *exstructi rogi*. **corripiunt**, 'hurry over,' lit. 'seize.'

637, 638. **munere**, as in l. 629; 'having made their offering to the goddess.' **virecta**, so the MSS.

640, 641. 'Here ether invests the plains with ampler folds and with dazzling light; they know another sun, and other stars than ours.' **et** couples **largior** and **lumine purpureo**, and both expressions qualify **vestit**; the passage being modelled on Homer, Od. vi. 44 ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἴθρη Πέπταται ἀνέφελος, λευκὴ δ' ἐπιδέδρομεν αἴγλη; cp. Lucr. iii. 18 sqq. For **purpureo** = 'bright,' cp. i. 590 *purpureum lumen*.

644. **plaudunt choreas**, 'beat the dance' (*cum pedum plausu ducunt*); apparently a mistaken imitation of Od. viii. 264 Πέπληγον δὲ χορὸν ποσίν, where χορός = 'the place of dancing.'

646, 647. 'Accompanies their strains with the seven notes of his lyre, striking them now with his fingers, and now with ivory quill.' **numeris** (dative) refers to the songs of the dancers (l. 644). **obloqui**, which (with dative of person) usually = 'to speak against,' 'contradict,' 'condemn,' etc., has here the force of 'uttering in reply or accompaniment to,' with a cognate accus. (**discrimina**) defining the utterance. As **eadem** must = **septem discrimina vocum**, this expression can only = 'the seven notes of the lyre' (the 'Heptachord of Orpheus'). **pectine**, the 'plectrum,' so called because it was inserted between the 'stamina' or upright threads of the lyre, as a comb between the 'stamina' of a loom.

649. **melioribus**, i. e. in the heroic foretime; cp. Catull. lxiv. 22 *O nimis optato saeclorum tempore nati Heroes*.

651. **inanes**, 'ghostly' (cp. l. 69 *inania regna*), rather than 'empty,' which would have little point.

653. **currum**, contracted form of the gen. plur.

658, 659. **superne** must = 'above,' i. e. in the upper world. 'Whence rises Eridanus to roll in full tide through forests in the world above.' Cp. G. iv. 366 sqq. where Aristaeus sees the subterranean sources of all rivers, Eridanus included. **plurimus** with **volvitur**.

660. **manus . . . passi**, cp. above l. 580 *genus antiquum Terrae, Titania pubes, Fulmine deiecti*.

662–664. 'Pure bards, whose song was worthy Phoebus' ear; inventors, who by arts have raised man's life; and all whose worth has won them memory in some hearts.' All the best MSS. and Servius support **aliquos**: a correction in one or two codices and the testimony of Macrobius being

the only external evidence for *alios*, which on internal grounds is perhaps preferable. With **aliquos** the idea is that all whose worth has earned them the grateful regard of *some* on earth—benefactors of mankind even on a small scale—have deserved Elysium: an idea not unworthy of Virgil or of this passage—not sufficiently so, at least, to justify disregard of overwhelming MS. authority. **merendo** = τῷ εὖ ποιῆσαι.

667. 'Musaeus is the mythical father of poets, as Orpheus of singers' (Con.).

670. illius ergo, 'on his account;' an archaic construction found in Lucretius (v. 1246 *formidinis ergo*), Cicero (de Opt. Gen. Or. *virtutis ergo benevolentiaeque*), and in public documents, e.g. a fragment of the XII Tables cited Cic. Legg. ii. 25. 64 *neve lessum funeris ergo habento.*

674. 'We haunt the swelling banks and meadows fresh with running streams.'

679–683. superum, as l. 481 above. **Anchises** is found reviewing the spirits of his descendants to come, 'one day to pass to upper air,' according to the doctrine explained in ll. 724–751. **lustrabat studio recolens**, 'was surveying in eager thought:' for **recolo** = 'musing,' 'considering,' cp. Cic. Phil. xiii. 20. 41 *quae si tecum ipse recolis, aequiore animo moriere.* **manus**, of martial exploits ('their deeds'), as in i. 455 of artistic performances.

685. alacris, nom. masc., as l. 380.

690. ducebam animo, 'was musing over.' **futurum**, with **ducebam** as well as **rebar.**

691. tempora, the time that must elapse till Aeneas might be expected to come.

695. The appearances of Anchises' **imago** to Aeneas were in dreams (iv. 353, v. 722), not visits of the actual ghost.

696. limina, poetical accus. of motion towards: cp. i. 554 *Italiam tendere.*

700–702. Repeated from ii. 792–794. They are a translation of Hom. Od. ix. 206–209, where Ulysses tries to embrace his mother's shade.

704. virgulta sonantia silvae, 'the rustling thickets of a wood.' **silvae** is supported by the majority of the MSS., and by Servius. For the other reading *silvis* ('with woods,' a poetical inversion) cp. iii. 442 *Averna sonantia silvis*, xii. 522 *virgulta sonantia lauro.* But here both external and internal considerations favour *silvae.*

706. gentes populique, 'races and peoples,' a poetical tautology, like *mentem animumque* l. 11.

711. porro, 'afar,' a rare sense.

715. securos latices, 'water of forgetfulness,' a translation of τὸν Ἀμέλητα ποταμόν (Plato, Rep. x. 621 A) of whose waters all spirits must drink as they pass through the sultry plain of Lethe. Cp. Milton's description ('Par. Lost,' ii. 583 sqq.) of

'Lethe, the river of oblivion . . .
. . . . whereof who drinks,
Forthwith his former state and being forgets,
Forgets both joy and grief, pleasure and pain.'

716. Ribbeck thinks that Virgil intended to omit l. 716. The only external ground for such a view is that Servius does not comment upon it; nor can we reject it because it involves repetition and tautology.

720. **sublimes** with **ire**, 'pass aloft.'

723. **suscipit**, *ὑπολαμβάνει*, 'replies,' lit. 'takes him up.'

724, 725. **principio**, 'first, then,' a Lucretian formula introducing an exposition. **terram**, another reading is *terras*, but it has less MS. support. **campos liquentes**, 'the watery plains,' i. e. the sea. **Titania astra** is probably a periphrasis for the sun—'Titan's starry sphere:' cp. *sidera solis* Ov. Met. xiv. 172. The sun was one of the Titans, but the stars had no connexion with them.

726, 727. 'Are nourished by a spirit within, a soul pervading every part and quickening the whole, as it mingles with the mighty frame.' Virgil here explains the doctrine of the *anima mundi*,—a doctrine originally Pythagorean, and afterwards adopted by the Platonists and Stoics. It is mentioned by Virgil, without either approval or disapproval, in Georg. iv. 219 foll.

728, 729. 'Thence (i. e. from the *mens divina*) men and cattle take their rise, and flying things that have life, and all strange shapes that Ocean bears beneath his marble floor.' **marmoreo aequore**, the *ἅλα μαρμαρέην* of Il. xiv. 273. The epithet expresses the dazzling brightness of the sea, like that of polished marble: cp. Lucr. ii. 767 *canos candenti marmore fluctus*.

730. **igneus vigor**, the aether with which the world-spirit was identified being regarded as a sort of flame.

731. **seminibus**, the 'particles' of flame or aether which constitute the souls of living beings.

733. **auras**, 'the sky,' 'the light of heaven.'

734. **dispiciunt**, 'see clearly;' cp. Lucr. ii. 741 (of blind men) *solis qui lumina numquam Dispexere*. The bulk of MSS. give *despiciunt*; but E and I (as in acc. plur.) are so irregularly written that MS. authority in such cases cannot be pressed against internal fitness.

735. **supremo lumine**, 'at their last day.' Others translate 'with its latest ray,' which is also possible.

737, 738. **penitusque**, etc., 'and needs must be that many a long-contracted stain is strangely engrained therein.'

740–742. Purification by air, water, or fire is the lot of various spirits. **inanes** (acc.), 'light' or 'unsubstantial' winds; cp. *inania nubila* G. iv. 196. **infectum scelus**, 'the taint of guilt' (*scelus quo inficiuntur*) a

poetical inversion of language. For the idea cp. Milton, 'Comus,' 463 sqq.:

> 'But when lust . . . .
> Lets in defilement to the inward parts,
> The soul grows clotted by contagion,
> Imbodies and imbrutes, till she quite lose
> The divine property of her first being.'

743–747. A very difficult passage. **quisque suos patimur manes,** 'we suffer each his own spirit's doom,' i. e. we each go through an individual discipline, the *manes* (the shade or spirit of the departed) being regarded as separate from the person himself, and as subjecting him to punishment. The expression is obscure, and hardly capable of exact definition. **exinde,** etc., *after* the punishment we are sent on to Elysium, and some few remain there, the rest eventually return to earth again. The lines **exinde . . . tenemus** are parenthetical, and the description of the punishment is resumed in **donec longa dies**, etc. The insertion of such a parenthesis, interrupting the account of the punishment with an account of what comes after it, is intolerably harsh. Ribbeck gets over the difficulty by transposing the order and placing ll. 745–747 after 742. But it is perhaps better to suppose that the passage is one of those which Virgil left unfinished. **aetherium,** etc., 'the ethereal intelligence and spark of unpolluted light,' two different expressions for the particle of world-spirit of which each man's soul consists.

748–750. mille is suggested by the χιλιέτης πορεία of Plat. Rep. 615 A. **rotam volvere,** 'gone through the cycle of a thousand years,' lit. 'rolled the wheel.' For Egyptian theories of transmigration see Wilkinson's 'Ancient Egypt' (ed. 1878) vol. iii. pp. 463–466. Josephus (Bell. Jud. ii. 8. 14) tells us that the Pharisees believed that the souls of good men passed into other bodies; and the Druids (Caes. B. G. vi. 14) seem to have held a similar belief. A theory of transmigration, devised by post-Vedic Brahmanism, was accepted and modified by Buddhism.

754. posset, after historic present. See on l. 534 above.

755. legere, 'scan.'

756. deinde, 'henceforth.'

758. animas, accusative after **expediam,** a change of constr. from the indirect interrogative. **in nomen,** 'to share the Trojan name:' cp. the expression 'in nomen *adsciscere, adsumere*,' etc., 'to incorporate into a family' or 'clan.'

760. pura, 'headless.' Servius (on Varro's authority) says that a headless spear was the reward of a first victory; it appears also to have been carried at triumphs; cp. Prop. v. 3. 67 *tua sic domitis Parthae telluris alumnis Pura triumphantes hasta sequatur equos.*

761–763. proxima lucis loca, 'the next place in light,' i. e. in the upper

world. **postuma,** 'last' or 'youngest:' the later technical meaning, 'posthumous,' would contradict the next line.

764–766. In i. 267 sqq. Ascanius (Iulus) is the future founder of Alba, while here another son, **Silvius,** is to be the progenitor of the Alban kings: Virgil apparently embodying different traditions without caring to reconcile them in detail. Silvius, according to legend, was born after Aeneas' death *in silvis,* whither his mother Lavinia had fled in fear of Ascanius. Virgil represents him as born in his father's lifetime, thus apparently contradicting the story about Ascanius. **educet,** 'shall bear,' 'bring forth,' as l. 779 above.

767 foll. **Procas, Capys, Numitor, Aeneas, Silvius**—all kings of Alba. The order of their succession is given variously in different legends.

768. Numitōr et, for the lengthening of the short syllable see Introd. p. 16.

769, 770. Aeneas Silvius, according to Servius, was kept out of his kingdom for fifty-three years by an usurping guardian; hence the doubt **si umquam . . . Albam.**

772. The 'civic' wreath of oak was given for preserving the life of a fellow-citizen in battle. Oaken wreaths were hung on the doors of Augustus (as preserver of the citizens), who is thus shown to succeed to the honour of his ancestors; cp. Ov. Fast. iv. 953 *state Palatinae laurus praetextaque quercu Stet domus.*

776. haec tum nomina erunt, 'there shall then be names,' i.e. places with names.

777. avo, Numitor, whom Romulus, according to the legend, restored to his rights. **comitem sese addet** = simply 'shall join.'

779, 780. 'See rising on his head the double crest! his sire's own token marks him now for the life above.' **pater** is Mars, the mythic father of Romulus, and **honore** the two-crested helmet, which was distinctive of Mars. **superum,** i.e. who is to come and live on earth (acc. sing.); cp. i. 680 *superum lumen,* 'the light of the upper world.' Others explain **pater ipse superum** (gen. plur.) as = Jupiter: but **ipse suo** are obviously connected, and the **geminae cristae** were not distinctive of Jupiter. **stant, signat** are kept in the direct form, in spite of **viden'**; a usage not uncommon after such expressions as *aspice, vide*; cp. l. 855 *aspice ut . . . ingreditur.*

782, 783. Cp. i. 287, G. ii. 535.

784–787. This description of the procession of Cybele is suggested by Lucretius ii. 606 sqq. **turrita,** i.e. wearing a mural crown, as she was supposed to have invented the art of fortification.

790. caeli sub axem = 'into the upper world.'

792. Divi, 'the god,' i.e. Julius Caesar, who was deified after his death. **condet,** 'shall found,' as *condere urbem,* etc.

793. regnata, poetical use in transitive sense; cp. *regnata Lycurgo* iii. 14.

794. The **Garamantes** (in Africa) were conquered by L. Corn. Balbus, B. C. 19, so that this line must have been added after the book was finished (Introd. p. 7). **Indos** (used loosely for any Eastern people) seems to refer to the Parthians and their restoration of the captive Roman standards to Augustus in Syria, B. C. 20. The meaning is 'beyond the Garamantes and Indians, beyond the territory of Atlas.' But the construction is changed, and Anchises seems to see the territory of Atlas in a vision.

795–797. tellus, Ethiopia, overrun by C. Petronius in 22 B. C. **extra sidera**, etc., i. e. beyond the Zodiac, called *ἠελίοιο κέλευθος* by Aratus. L. 797 is repeated from iv. 481, where see note.

798 sqq. **iam nunc**, 'even now,' while Anchises is speaking, mysterious predictions heralding Augustus' coming (**huius in adventum**) are perplexing the regions he will visit. The reference is to the emperor's journey to the East (B. C. 20) for settling the provinces, which Virgil here represents as predicted long before, comparing it to the mythic travels of Hercules and Bacchus.

800. septemgemini; see on l. 287 above. **turbant**, intrans., as Lucr. vi. 369 *pugnare necessest Dissimiles res inter se turbareque mixtas.*

802. fixerit: Eur. H. F. 375 sqq. also represents Hercules as killing the stag of Ceryneia; the common story being that he brought it alive to Eurystheus.

804, 805. Bacchus was fabled to have driven a team of tigers or lynxes round the world, starting from **Nysa**, a legendary mountain, which was identified with various places in Europe, Asia, and Africa: cp. Sil. Ital. xv. 80 *Captivo Liber quum signa referret ab Euro, Caucasiae currum duxere per oppida tigres.*

806. et, *indignantis*; cp. G. ii. 433 *et dubitant homines serere.* For **virtute extendere vires**, 'extend our power by bravery,' some MSS. give *virtutem extendere factis*, 'spread our valour by brave deeds,' i. e. make it widely known. There is not much to choose between the two readings.

808. ille, i. e. Numa, the principal author of Roman institutions and worship.

809. sacra ferens, 'bearing the sacred vessels;' he is represented as sacrificing, on account of the religious character of his legislation.

810, 811. primam, 'the young city.' **legibus fundabit**, as the first great lawgiver Numa was in one sense a second founder: cp. Justin. 2. 7 (cited by Henry) *Solon . . . qui velut novam civitatem legibus conderet.*

813. resides, 'languid.'

815, 816. 'Vainglorious Ancus, e'en now too prone to catch the people's favouring breath:' the ruling passion being strong even before birth.

auris, a common metaphor; cp. Hor. Od. iii. 2. 20 *arbitrio popularis aurae* (‘the people's veering will,’ Con.); *aura favoris popularis* Liv. xxii. 26; *ventus popularis* Cic. Cluent. 47. 130. The character here ascribed to Ancus is unnoticed by Livy and Dionysius: but there was a tradition that, being jealous of Tullus, he courted popularity in the hope of destroying him.

817, 818. **Tarquinios** perhaps includes Servius Tullius, who otherwise is not mentioned. **receptos**, ‘recovered’ by the people from the kings; the **fasces** being the symbol of authority.

819. Cp. Lucr. iii. 1009 *petere a populo fasces saevasque secures.*

822, 823. ‘Unhappy sire! howe'er posterity may view that deed, his love for Rome, his boundless thirst for fame, shall prevail’—i. e. he will run the risk of being called cruel by posterity, so long as they are forced to acknowledge his patriotism and greatness.

824, 825. Three **Decii** fell as consuls in battle—the father against the Latins, 340 B. C.; the son against the Samnites, 295 B. C.; the grandson against Pyrrhus, 279 B. C. (Liv. viii. 9, x. 28; Cic. Tusc. i. 37. 89). The only famous **Drusus** was M. Drusus Livius Salinator, the conqueror of Hasdrubal at the Metaurus: but the family are mentioned in compliment to Livia Drusilla, wife of Augustus. **Torquatus** executed his son for disobedience to military orders (Liv. viii. 7). **signa**, i. e. ‘standards’ captured by the Gauls at the Allia.

826 sqq. The reference is to the civil wars between Caesar (**socer**, l. 830) and Pompey, who married his daughter Julia. They appear **paribus armis** as both Roman generals; but only **concordes** so long as they are kept in the darkness of the lower world (**nocte premuntur**). **fulgĕre**, the older form of the verb, found in Lucretius.

829–831. **aggeribus**, ‘from Alpine heights and fortress of Monoecus’ (now Monaco). It is not known that Caesar entered Italy by this way; but Virgil is a poet, not a historian. **adversis instructus Eois**, ‘meeting him in fight with Eastern arms’ (i. e. troops from Greece and Asia).

833. For the alliteration cp. ii. 494 *fit via vi.*

834. ‘The more illustrious can better afford to forgive’ (Con.).

836–840. The first **ille** is Mummius, the destroyer of Corinth, 146 B. C.; the second, L. Aemilius Paullus, the conqueror of Macedonia. **Aeacides** is Perseus, who was defeated by Paullus at Pydna, B. C. 168, and who was said to be a descendant of Achilles. Neither Mummius nor Paullus destroyed **Argos** and **Mycenae**: but ‘Virgil blends all the Greek victories confusedly together for the purpose of his poem’ (Kenn.), as being vengeance for the fall of Troy, carried out by its Roman descendants.

841. **tacitum**, ‘unsung,’ in its original participial use; cp. Cic. Fam. iii. 8. 2 *prima duo capita epistolae tuae tacita mihi quodammodo relinquenda sunt.* M. Porcius **Cato**, ‘Censor’ 184 B. C. A. Cornelius **Cossus** gained the second *spolia opima* in 426 B. C. (Liv. iv. 29); the first being

accredited to Romulus (ib. i. 10), and the third and last to M. Claudius Marcellus (l. 855 below).

842, 843. **Gracchi genus** perhaps includes, besides the two famous tribunes, Tiberius and Caius (died 133 and 121 B. C.), Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, twice consul during the Second Punic War. The father of 'the Gracchi' earned a triumph for victory over the Celtiberi, 178 B. C. **Scipiadas**, a hybrid word employed for metrical reasons by Virgil (cp. Georg. ii. 170) and Lucretius, and perhaps by Ennius before them, *Scipiones* being unmanageable in heroic verse. The Scipios here meant are the two 'Africani,' the conqueror at Zama, 202 B. C., and the destroyer of Carthage, 146 B. C. Lucretius (iii. 1034) calls Scipio *belli fulmen*, *Carthaginis horror*; and Cicero (Balb. 34) speaks even of Cn. and P. Scipio, who fell in Spain, as *duo fulmina nostri imperii*, showing that the image had become associated with the name. Munro on Lucr. *l. c.* supposes that the Scipios may have referred their name to the idea of 'hurling,' etc. in connection with *σκήπτω* and kindred words, 'rather than to the more homely staff' (*σκῆπτρον*).

844. **Fabricius**, 'rich in poverty,' rejected the bribes of Pyrrhus, 278 B. C. For **potentem** = *opulentum* cp. Hor. Od. ii. 18. 12 *nec potentem amicum Largiora flagito*. **Serranus**, a cognomen of C. Atilius Regulus, consul 257 B. C. Most authors say that he received the name because he was engaged in sowing when the news of his elevation to the consulship was brought to him. Virgil appears to adopt this view (*Serrane*, *serentem*). But the story bears a suspicious resemblance to that of Cincinnatus (Liv. iii. 26); and as the name occurs on coins in the form *Saranus*, some derive it from Saranum, a town in Umbria.

845, 846. **fessum**, i. e. with enumerating so many heroes. **Maximus** was a cognomen of the Fabia Gens, first borne, according to Livy (ix. 46), by Q. Fabius, a general in the Samnite war, 303 B. C. The one here referred to is the celebrated Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator (dictator 217 B. C.), who wore out Hannibal by his cautious tactics. Cic. Off. i. 24. 84 preserves the line of Ennius, *Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.*

847–853. 'Others, I ween, shall mould with softer grace the breathing bronze, and call from stone the living face; more skilful they to plead a cause, to mete out the paths of heaven and tell the rising of the stars. Thine, Roman, be the task to rule the nations with thy sway: these shall be thine arts—to impose the laws of peace, to spare the humbled, and to crush the proud.' The contrast throughout is between Rome great in war and policy, and Greece, 'mother of arts and songs.' Even in oratory, the form of literature in which the Romans most excelled, Virgil gives the palm to Greece, in order to emphasize more clearly the fact that the real strength of Rome lay in the work of government. **ducere**, of moulding and fashioning, as vii. 634 *ocreas lento ducunt argento*. **radio**, the rod with which geometricians drew figures on the *abacus*. For **pacis** most MSS. give

paci, 'impose law on peace,' i. e. curb the licence of peace by establishing institutions. But this would be a most unusual expression, and **pacis** is recognised by Servius, and further confirmed by xii. 112 *pacis dicere leges.*

855. M. Claudius **Marcellus**, consul 222 B.C., won the third **spolia opima** by killing the chief of the Insubrian Gauls. Later on he fought against Hannibal in the Punic war with varying success, but was eventually defeated by him. He is mentioned for the sake of his namesake and descendant.

857–859. **tumultu**, the word, as Cic. Phil. viii. § 3 explains, denoted something more serious than *bellum*, and was applied technically to any rising in Italy itself, or in Gaul. Here it has its technical sense. **sistet**, 'shall uphold' (ὀρθώσει). **eques**, Marcellus won the *spolia opima* in a cavalry fight, and (says Anchises) will dedicate them to **Quirinus** (Romulus) as their first winner. Romulus and Cossus dedicated theirs to Jupiter Feretrius (Liv. i. 10, iv. 20); and Prop. v. 10. 45 (a poem on the title 'Feretrius') says, *Nunc spolia in templo tria condita*; but we need not bind Virgil to close consistency in a traditional matter of this kind.

860 sqq. The **egregius forma iuvenis** here celebrated is M. Marcellus, son of Augustus' sister Octavia, married B. C. 25, at the age of eighteen, to the emperor's daughter Julia, and destined for his heir, but cut off by disease two years later, B. C. 23.

865. 'What murmur of his comrades round! how grand a mien is his!' **instar**, ἅπαξ λεγόμενον in this sense.

871. **propria**, 'lasting;' cp. Ecl. vii. 31 *si proprium hoc fuerit.*

872–874. **ille** suggests the well-known title 'Martius.' 'What groans of men shall Mars' plain send up to Mars' mighty town! what funeral trains shall Tiber see as he glideth past the new-made tomb!'—i. e. the mausoleum erected by Augustus in the Campus Martius five years before.

876. **spe tollet**, 'raise high in hope,' 'inspire with such high hopes.' Kenn. takes **spe** as gen., like *die* G. i. 208; but no other instance occurs.

878. **prisca fides**, 'the honour of old days.'

879. **tulisset**, i. e. *si vixisset.*

882–885. 'O child so mourned! if ever thou canst break the cruel bonds of fate, Marcellus thou shalt be. Bring lilies in handfuls; let me strew bright flowers, with these at least to grace my descendant's shade, and pay him unavailing honour.' **date** and **spargam** (jussive) are independent of one another. In iv. 683 *date vulnera lymphis Abluam* (a passage somewhat parallel to the present in rhythm and language) *date abluam* are better taken together, 'grant me to wash.' Some editors propose to take the present passage in the same way, making **spargam** depend on **date**, and regarding **flores** as in apposition to **lilia**. But there is no reason to suppose that the construction is identical in both cases, and in the passage before us the clauses run more smoothly if regarded as independent.

887. **aëris campis**, 'fields of mist,' 'shadowy plains.'

892. Repeated from iii. 459, where it is said that the Sibyl will tell Aeneas

of his fortunes in Italy. Here this task is performed by Anchises—a slight inconsistency which Virgil would probably have removed, if he had lived to complete the work.

893 sqq. From Homer, Od. xix. 562 sqq. *Δοιαὶ γάρ τε πύλαι ἀμενηνῶν εἰσὶν ὀνείρων κ.τ.λ.* The adoption of this idea enables Virgil to avoid making Aeneas return to earth by the same road, and to bring him back, as it were suddenly and mysteriously, without further description. Homer's distinction is between truthful (*οἵ ῥ' ἔτυμα κραίνουσι*) and lying dreams (*ἔπε' ἀκράαντα φέροντες*); Virgil's between **verae umbrae,** 'real spirits' that appear in sleep, and **falsa insomnia**, 'delusive dreams.' His object probably is to reproduce Homer with a slight poetical variety, rather than to imply any definite doctrine about spirits and dreams.

895. perfecta with **nitens,** adverbially; 'gleaming with the polish of dazzling ivory' (Con.).

900. recto litore, 'straight along the shore;' cp. *recto flumine* viii. 57. *Limite*, from some later MSS., is adopted by Heyne to avoid repetition of *litore* in l. 901: but as the best MSS. are unanimous in favour of *litore*, it is probably correct, the repetition being due to carelessness.

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